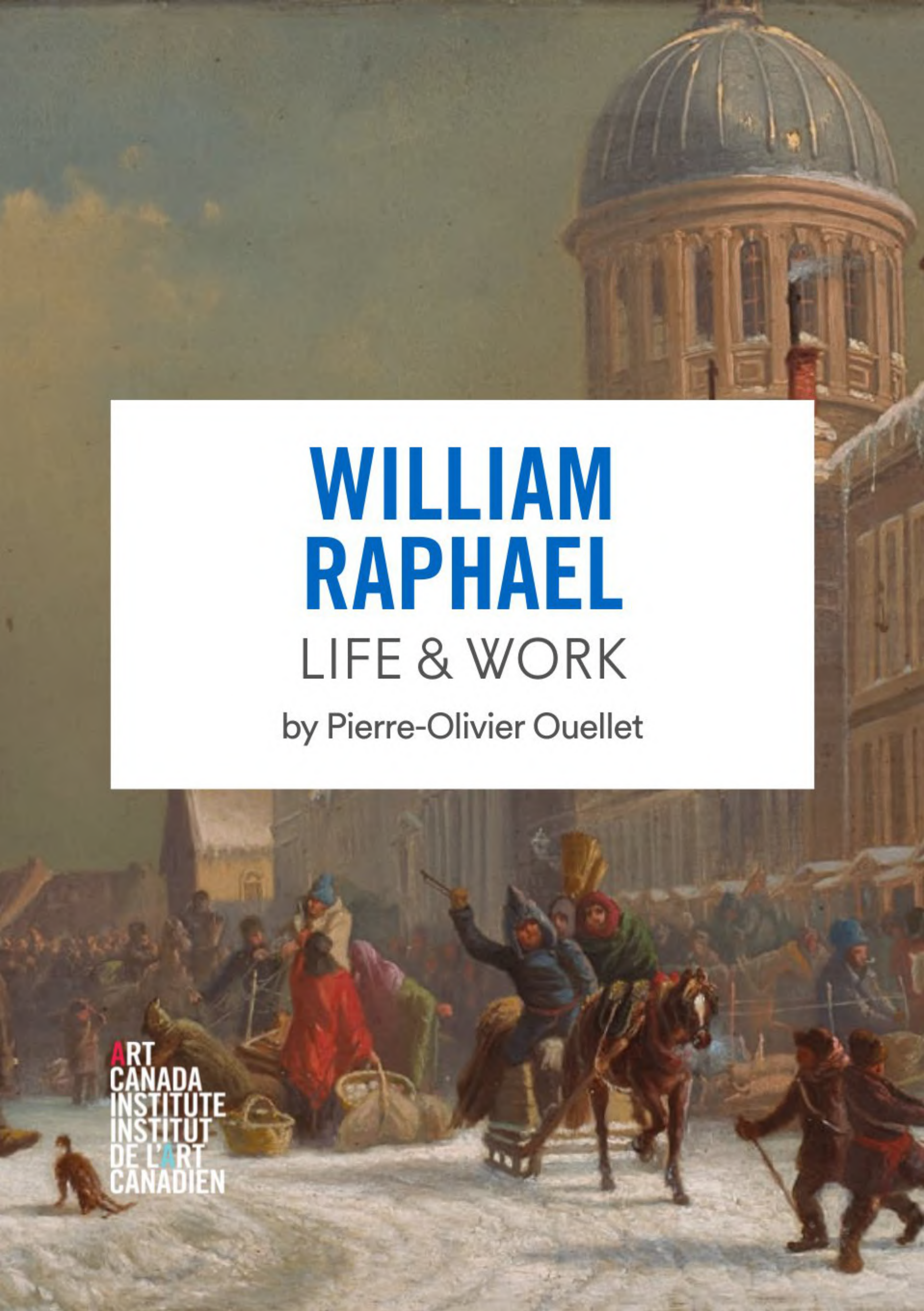


The background of the cover is a detailed oil painting of a winter scene. In the upper right, a large, ornate domed building, likely a cathedral or government building, is partially visible. The lower portion of the image shows a busy street in winter. A group of people in period clothing are gathered around a horse-drawn sleigh. One person is holding a long stick or pole. The ground is covered in snow, and the overall atmosphere is one of a cold, busy day in a historical setting.

WILLIAM RAPHAEL

LIFE & WORK

by Pierre-Olivier Ouellet

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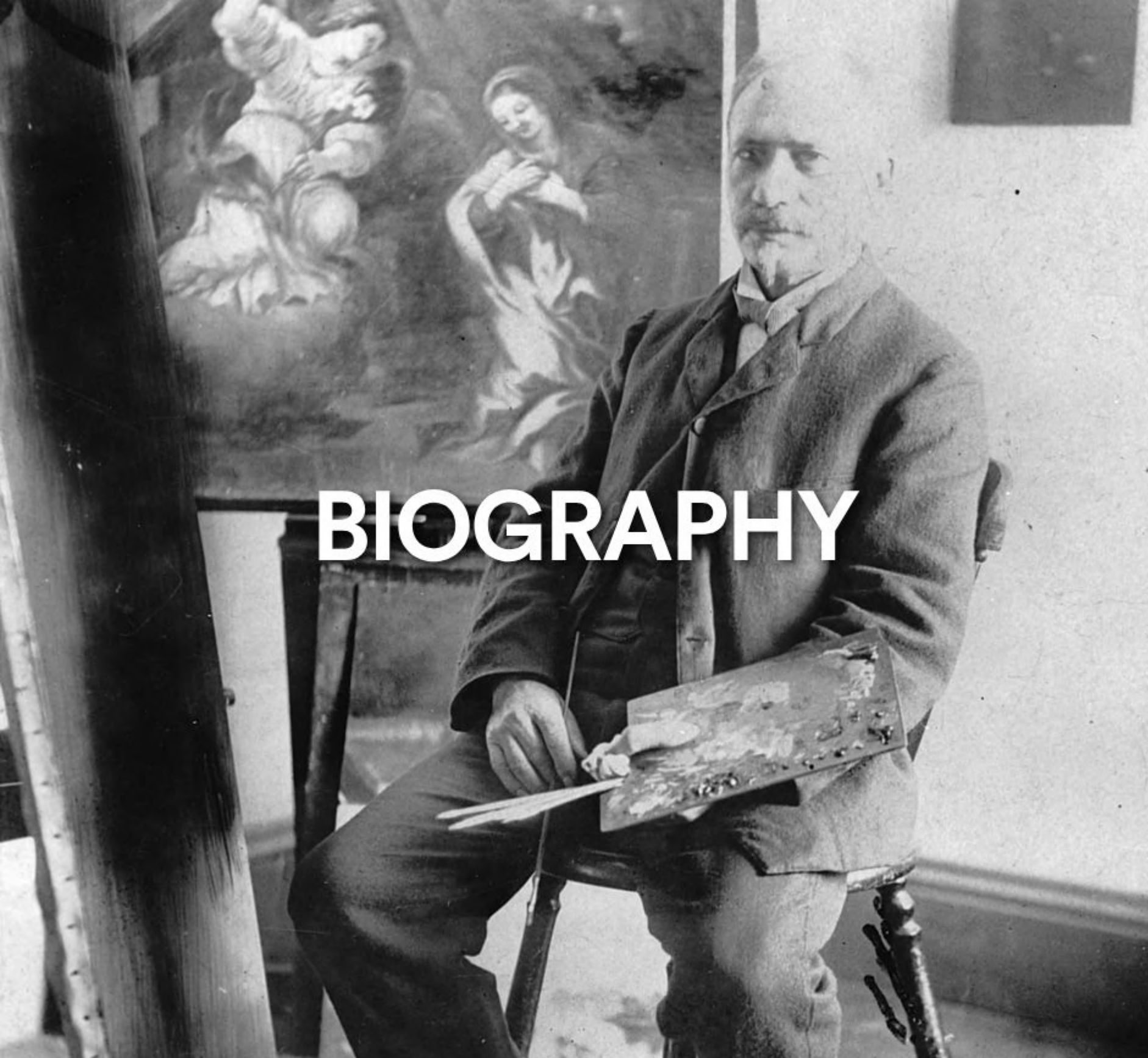
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BIOGRAPHY

The first Jewish artist to forge a professional career in Canada, William Raphael played a vital role in shaping the country's artistic landscape. Born in 1833 in Eastern Europe and trained in Berlin, Raphael chose to exile himself in Montreal, where his genre scenes—rich in realism and rooted in local life—captured a growing nation in transition. Beyond the canvas, he left his mark as a teacher and as a founding figure of two major institutions: the Art Association of Montreal and the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts. But a tide of anti-Semitism that swept the globe clouded Raphael's legacy and ultimately drove him to withdraw from the art world before his death in 1914.

EARLY YEARS AND ARTISTIC TRAINING

William Raphael was born Israel Rafalsky in Prussia on August 22, 1833. One of several children of Paulena Samuel (1805–1852) and Wolf Rafalsky (1796–1856), he was raised in an Orthodox Jewish household in the town of Nakel (present-day Nakło nad Notecią in Poland). During Raphael's youth, this region in Eastern Europe was an important centre for the Haskalah, or Jewish Enlightenment, a movement that encouraged the modernization of Jewish communities through exposure to more secular education and culture. Raphael benefited from this time of reform. He was educated in three languages—German, Hebrew, and Yiddish¹—and in 1850, he took his first lessons on the violin.² Along with music, Raphael studied Romantic poetry and ancient history, broadening his cultural pursuits.³ At a very early age, he also began drawing and taking notes in his sketchbooks, a habit he kept up throughout his life.



LEFT: William Raphael, *Self-Portrait*, 1862, oil on canvas mounted on cardboard, 47.6 x 25.6 cm, collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal.
RIGHT: William Raphael, *The Rafalsky family home in Nakel*, May 6, 1851, watercolour and graphite on wove paper, 15.8 x 10 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

On August 3, 1851, the eve of his eighteenth birthday, Raphael left his family home to pursue formal artistic training.⁴ As the artist mentions in a retrospective essay, he attended the "Royal Academy of Berlin," or, the Royal Prussian Academy of Arts.⁵ Although the school's archives have no record of his enrolment—many documents were destroyed during the Second World War⁶—Raphael's notebooks from the period confirm that he did indeed pay his tuition fees in September 1851.⁷ Raphael even specifies that he took "lessons with

Professor Wolff,"⁸ most likely referring to the painter and portraitist Johann Eduard Wolff (1786–1868).⁹ Along with Wolff, the school boasted several teachers who were well known in Berlin society at the time, including portraitists Carl Joseph Begas (1794–1854)¹⁰ and Friedrich Wilhelm Heinrich Herbig (1788–1861),¹¹ and landscape painter Ferdinand Konrad Bellermann (1814–1889).¹² Raphael was likely influenced by several of these teachers as he began to develop his own artistic identity.

As part of his academic training, Raphael was exposed to two great models prevalent in European art schools in the nineteenth century:¹³ nature and antiquity.¹⁴ His notebooks contain drawings of live models and representations of figures from ancient Greece. Other sketches from this period focus on human anatomy.¹⁵ In one, for example, Raphael reproduces a flayed figure by French sculptor Edmé Bouchardon (1698–1762). He also created small studies of human body parts, such as an oil painting of a hand. These were the types of exercises that students in the academic system were expected to complete.



LEFT: Edmé Bouchardon, *Flayed (Écorché)*, 1760, plaster, dissection cast, and metal, 208 x 70 x 60 cm, École des Beaux-Arts, Paris. RIGHT: William Raphael, after Edmé Bouchardon, *Study of a sculpture of a flayed figure*, 1854, graphite on wove paper, 20.1 x 11.6 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

Unfortunately, this period in Berlin was marked by several deaths in Raphael's family: first his mother in 1852; then his sisters Kalah and Bertha in 1853 and 1854; and finally his father in 1856.¹⁶ These events, combined with a population boom and fierce competition for jobs in Prussia, prompted Raphael to leave Europe and settle in North America.¹⁷ The young artist took care to draw sketches of his friends and family before his departure.¹⁸ Among his meagre belongings were a few works that would demonstrate his artistic skills, including some portraits he'd painted in 1855. *Portrait of a Woman*, dated June 8, captures the subject looking over her shoulder. While playing with strong contrasts of light and dark, Raphael shows great talent for depicting the woman's face. Note the artist's signature on the bottom left of this work, which confirms that by the 1850s, he had already changed his name from Israel Rafalsky to William Raphael.



William Raphael, *Portrait of a Woman*, June 8, 1855, oil on cardboard, 36.1 x 29 cm, Musée de Lachine, Montreal.

Raphael crossed the Atlantic from Hamburg to New York aboard a pioneering steamship, the *Borussia*, whose maiden voyage had taken place just a few months earlier.¹⁹ The ship left port on December 2, 1856, but the crossing was disrupted by bad weather and a collision with a schooner, the *Industry*, on the night of December 19.²⁰ Raphael produced two drawings of the scene, showing the schooner gradually sinking into the ocean. The captain and crew were rescued and taken aboard Raphael's ship.²¹ Three days later, the *Borussia*

docked in New York.²² Knowing only a few words of English but with the names and addresses of various acquaintances in hand, Raphael stayed in the city for a few months.²³ On April 21, 1857, he left the United States by train to join his brother Meier Rafalsky, also known as Morris Raphaelsky (1825–1914), in Montreal.²⁴



LEFT: Currier & Ives, New York (publisher), *The Steam-ship "Borussia" (screw-propeller). Regular packet between Hamburg and New York*, c.1857–72, colour lithograph, 18.4 x 33 cm, The Mariners' Museum and Park, Newport News, Virginia. RIGHT: William Raphael, *Sinking of the Schooner Industry*, December 19, 1856, graphite on paper, 8.5 x 14.1 cm, collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal.

STARTING OUT IN MONTREAL

Although his brother Meier relocated to St. Louis, Missouri, in October 1857,²⁵ young William Raphael found Montreal a favourable place to establish himself. At the time, there were no resident portrait painters in the city; it was mostly served by itinerant artists travelling from place to place. In fact, only the Irish-born James Duncan (1806–1881) had made his home in Montreal, where he painted landscapes and genre scenes.²⁶

Armed with the portraits that had crossed the Atlantic with him, Raphael soon managed to convince several prominent Montrealers of his talents. Members of the Silvermann family were the first to call on him,²⁷ and commissions followed regularly from that point on. Like his contemporary Paul Kane (1810–1871), who also began his career as a portraitist,²⁸ Raphael produced a substantial number of works, completing twelve commissions before the end of 1857. In 1858, he carried on at this prolific pace in Montreal, while also travelling to Quebec City to meet other clients.²⁹

Raphael's portraits brought him to the attention of photographer William Notman (1826–1891). Notman had arrived in Montreal from Scotland in 1856 and opened a photographic studio at a time when this new medium—with its low cost and its ability to produce images quickly and easily—was enjoying great success. Even though the city already had a well-established daguerreotypist in T.C. [Thomas Coffin] Doane (1814–1896),³⁰ Notman readily obtained numerous commissions and won several awards for his daguerreotypes and ambrotypes. He also counted on the support of the Montreal bourgeoisie and produced portraits of members of the city's most prominent families, including the son of shipping magnate and financier Hugh Allan. Notman offered his clients portraits finished with oils or watercolours.³¹

The success of his business combining photography with painting allowed him to hire a variety of artists, including the Scottish-born painter Charles Smeaton (1838–1868).³² In 1859, he called on the services of William Raphael.³³ This was a productive collaboration that resulted in many fine portraits, including one of Sir William Fenwick Williams, then commander-in-chief of the British forces in the colony. The portrait was temporarily exhibited at the Quebec stock exchange building in December 1859 and was described by the Quebec *Morning Chronicle* newspaper as “admirable” and “life-like.”³⁴



LEFT: William Notman Studio, *Hugh Andrew Montagu Allan, Montreal, Quebec, 1866–1867, 1866–67*, albumen print, 9 x 5.5 cm, McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal. RIGHT: William Notman Studio and John Arthur Fraser (painter), *Master Hugh Allan, Montreal, QC, 1867, 1867*, silver salts and watercolour on card, 69 x 52 cm, McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal.

Raphael continued his work with Notman’s studio into the following year, as evidenced by an article in the *Montreal Herald* newspaper published on August 27, 1860,³⁵ as well as several portraits dated that same year, including one of a woman.³⁶ But by 1861, the business relationship was over, as Raphael himself noted to the press in 1886.³⁷ His work with Notman had guaranteed him a stable income, but the end of the partnership offered Raphael the opportunity to pursue a personal practice focused on genre scenes.



William Raphael, *The Old Pedlar*, 1859, oil on canvas, 76.3 x 89.1 cm, Art Gallery of Nova Scotia, Halifax.

Raphael began to produce works with many of the hallmarks of the Biedermeier style, an artistic movement that seems to have influenced his creative vision during his formative years in Berlin. With its emphasis on realism, Biedermeier aimed to depict subjects from everyday life. This was the context for Raphael's piece *The Old Pedlar*, painted in July 1859. In September, the work was on display at Dawson & Sons, a prominent local firm selling books and stationery. Benjamin Dawson and his sons, Samuel Edward and William Valentine, were among the city's most active cultural figures at the time. Their store was also one of the few places where photographs and paintings were exhibited and offered for sale, often in books illustrated with engravings.³⁸ Here, Raphael's *The Old Pedlar* did not go unnoticed. The *Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette* published some very positive lines on the subject:

A good painting is on view at Messrs. Dawson & Sons. The subject is the interior of a [peasant woman's] humble dwelling with several figures, the principal one being a pedlar, no doubt in the fancy hardware line from the contents of his basket. He has just effected the sale of a looking-glass, and with open hand he is waiting to receive the ready for it.... All the figures seem full of life and feeling, even the dog, who is cautiously making up to the pedlar, is in true character.³⁹

The scene is described in detail, with the journalist praising the artist's ability to create an original composition and capture the expressions that animate the characters. The writer also explicitly highlights the painter's identity, telling readers, "The picture, a local production, has been supposed to be a copy, but it is really an original from the easel of W. Raphael, an Artist from the Berlin Academy, at present at Mr. Notman's Studio."⁴⁰ With this article, Raphael began to gain recognition in his adopted city. From this point on, he inscribed "Montreal" in full on many of his paintings.

On December 17, 1859, in a sign of the painter's increasing activity, the *Morning Chronicle and Commercial and Shipping Gazette* critiqued four works on display at the Quebec stock exchange building, including one entitled *The School*

and a self-portrait.⁴¹ Then, in August 1860, Raphael's latest creation, an allegorical painting entitled *Union of Europe and America*, was featured as part of the festivities for the visit of the Prince of Wales to Montreal. The iconography of this painting is unique in the artist's repertoire. "Its design was a figure of Britannia, with a mural crown," reported the *Montreal Herald*, "placing wreaths on the heads of a female figure representing Europe, and a male one in Indian costume, representing America, both mounting the steps to a throne."⁴² A transparency of the work was illuminated in the evenings in Jacques Cartier Square, undoubtedly to the delight of spectators.

In this period, Raphael continued his personal work, focusing on genre scenes depicting the Canadian people and landscape, and significant places in the city. Some of the paintings from this time, such as *Haymarket Square / Victoria Square*, 1861, feature the Montreal haymarket. Others, such as *Boy and a Cart*, 1860, and *Going to Town*, 1862, show figures on horse-drawn sleighs or carts. Many of Raphael's pieces from this period reflect the northern character of the British colony, calling to mind the work of Cornelius Krieghoff (1815-1872).



William Notman, *Arch at Foot of Jacques Cartier Square, for Albert Edward, Prince of Wales' Visit, Montreal, QC, 1860*, silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 10 x 8 cm, McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal.



LEFT: William Raphael, *Boy and a Cart*, 1860, oil on canvas, 58.4 x 47 cm, collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. RIGHT: William Raphael, *Going to Town*, 1862, oil on canvas, 30.5 x 35.2 cm, RiverBrink Art Museum, Queenston, Ontario.

Raphael began his career during a period of artistic renewal in Montreal. Between 1858 and 1860, several foreign painters established themselves in the city, contributing to a more fertile cultural environment. Among these were the English-born artists C.J. Way (1835-1919) and John Arthur Fraser (1838-1898). Fraser later became a valued employee of William Notman's. Similarly, in 1860, landscape painter Otto Reinhold Jacobi (1812-1901), a fellow Prussian, decided to make Montreal his home, as did animal painter Adolphe Vogt (1842-1871) in 1865.⁴³

As Montreal's population swelled to 90,323 in 1861,⁴⁴ it began to attract a growing number of art lovers and collectors who supported cultural initiatives such as a public art exhibition held at Bonaventure Hall in the summer of 1857.⁴⁵ But the city was still without a permanent art museum and art school. To address the lack of official infrastructure for artists, members of the city's intellectual and financial elite took the lead in forming a professional arts association. The first meeting of a group of twenty-three English-speaking gentlemen, including Anglican bishop Francis Fulford, took place at the home of William Notman on January 11, 1860. Only two painters, C.J. Way and William Raphael, were invited to take part in the project.⁴⁶ Barely two weeks later, the group had established the foundation for what would later be called the Art Association of Montreal. According to art historian Jean Trudel, the association's aims were to "build up and present a permanent collection of paintings and sculptures, organize temporary exhibitions and a program of animation, and create a specialized public library and a school of fine arts."⁴⁷ As a founding member, Raphael was a regular participant in the association's activities, both its expositions and its *conversazione* (private evening discussions reserved for distinguished guests).⁴⁸

As he forged personal and professional relationships in the Montreal art scene, Raphael also became involved in the city's small Jewish and German-speaking community. He painted portraits of some of its members, including Mr. Hermann Danziger in August 1857.⁴⁹ Perhaps this is when Raphael first met Danziger's daughter, Ernestina (1844-1925), with whom he became romantically involved.⁵⁰ It's unclear how this relationship began, but by 1861, according to

the Canadian census, Raphael was living at the Danziger home at 63½ German Street.⁵¹ He courted the young woman under the watchful eye of members of the Danziger family and eventually asked her to marry him. Before their union was announced, the young couple were photographed separately by William Notman in 1862, each posing in an identical setting, perhaps on the same day. On October 29, 1862, their wedding was celebrated by the well-known rabbi Abraham de Sola at the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue of Montreal.⁵² The couple had the first of their nine children, a son they named Rudolph, in 1863.



LEFT: William Notman, *Miss Danziger, Montreal, QC, 1862, 1862*, silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 8.5 x 5.6 cm, McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal. RIGHT: William Notman, *William Raphael, artist, Montreal, QC, 1862, 1862*, silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 8.5 x 5.6 cm, McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal.

MAJOR ACHIEVEMENTS

In January 1863, Montreal photographer Abner Bedee Taber (1832–1866) offered William Raphael a one-year contract to paint portraits based on his photographs.⁵³ A Taber advertisement in the Montreal directory boasted that the painter was “well known as a first-class artist.”⁵⁴ This offer guaranteed Raphael a regular income—he received fifteen dollars and thirty-eight cents every Saturday from the photographer⁵⁵—which he could use to finance the production of speculative works for the Montreal market.⁵⁶ In the second half of the nineteenth century, the city’s art market consisted mainly of auctions or exhibitions of works in bookshops and framing stores. Raphael relied on the occasional support of Dawson & Sons and gallery owner William Scott (1831–1904) to buy or sell his paintings.⁵⁷

The artist also began making more ambitious compositions depicting urban life. One of these creations, entitled *Bonsecours Market*, was included in the second exhibition organized by the Art Association of Montreal (AAM) in February 1864.⁵⁸ Raphael’s work, which was shown alongside paintings by Cornelius Krieghoff, Robert Scott Duncanson (1821–1872), and even J.M.W. Turner (1775–1851), won high praise at the *conversazione* held at the opening of the event, and that praise was echoed in the *Montreal Herald*:

An extremely clever picture was sent by Mr. Raphael, a young Canadian artist. The subject was a very characteristic street scene in front of the Bonsecours Market in the height of the early morning business in the winter time. The figures are full of life and animation, and the costumes, the carriages, the snow, and the winter atmosphere just after sunrise, are all rendered, with remarkable happiness and faithfulness. This is a genuine Canadian picture in every sense of the word.⁵⁹

In the eyes of connoisseurs and critics, Raphael—now identified in the press as a “Canadian artist” rather than a student of the Berlin Academy—had produced a work that was his first major achievement.⁶⁰ Although the 1864 painting has been lost, a drawing from the same year gives us insight into the composition of this winter scene. Raphael also produced a variation of the painting sixteen years later, in 1880, which allows us to better grasp its full significance. The later work captures the hustle and bustle of a busy street full of temporary stalls lined up against the facade of the Bonsecours Market. In both pieces, the scene is framed by distinctive Montreal landmarks, including the high dome of the market and the steeple of Notre-Dame-de-Bon-



Cornelius Krieghoff, *Merrymaking*, 1860, oil on canvas, 88.9 x 121.9 cm, Beaverbrook Art Gallery, Fredericton.



LEFT: William Raphael, *Bonsecours Market*, 1864, graphite, ink, watercolor, and white highlights, 24.1 x 29.8 cm, private collection.
RIGHT: William Raphael, *Bonsecours Market, Montreal*, 1880, oil on canvas, 30.4 x 40.7 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

Raphael's professional success most likely prompted his father-in-law, Hermann Danziger, to introduce him to the closed circle of Freemasonry in April 1864.⁶¹ Through this family connection, Raphael was able to enter the ranks of this secret society, which in turn made it possible for him to broaden his social and cultural circle. He certainly met members of the upper class who were willing to commission him to paint their portraits.

Raphael also continued his own practice, presenting a painting at the AMM's third exhibition, which opened on February 27, 1865.⁶² That summer, he took a short trip to Scotland, during which he added various drawings, including *Arrocher*, 1865, to his notebooks. His reasons for going to Scotland remain unknown. From this journey, he produced only one painting, depicting Loch

Achray and Ben Venue mountain, in 1869.⁶³ On his return to Canada, Raphael rented his family's first home, a few steps away from his in-laws' house, at 98 German Street—a street that, as its name suggests, was mainly populated by German-speaking Canadians.⁶⁴ The family remained at this address until 1887.⁶⁵

In his new home, he began work on a composition set behind the Bonsecours Market. A preparatory painting was presented at the Montreal Provincial Exhibition in the fall of 1865. Although the work won him first prize for an oil

painting,⁶⁶ some newspapers condemned the caricatured appearance of the figures in the scene and took the opportunity to ridicule the artist's surname: the Montreal painter was, according to the critics, no match for the great Renaissance master Raphael (1483-1520). Although stung by these remarks, Raphael created a larger version of the Bonsecours Market scene in 1866, adding a detail that visually countered the petty comments of the critics.

In the 1860s, Raphael's works were rooted in local reality, sometimes with a humorous edge, but he also tackled more imaginative themes. Some paintings from this period feature unusual encounters inspired by marginal characters (such as fortune tellers and tarot readers) and set in vast landscapes, as in *Fireside Chat in the Clearing*, 1867. Perhaps influenced by the African American painter Robert Scott Duncanson, who showed his 1861 work *Land of the Lotus Eaters* in Montreal in 1863 and 1864,⁶⁷ Raphael seems to have let his mind wander to more fanciful images. Like Duncanson, who was associated with the Hudson River School, Raphael opts for a panoramic format, bathing the landscape in late-day light while the mountains in the background seem to disappear. Also like Duncanson, he populates the scene with characters who seem to have sprung from the imagination, or even from another era. One of his compositions produced in this vein earned him a favourable review in London's *Art Journal*.⁶⁸ Although this encouraged him to continue this approach for some time, he abandoned it in the early 1870s.



William Raphael, *Arrocher*, 1865, graphite on paper, 17.5 x 24.9 cm, McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal.



William Raphael, *Fireside Chat in the Clearing*, 1867, oil on canvas, 61 x 106.7 cm, collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal.

TEACHING AND SHAPING THE NATION'S ART

William Raphael opened his own studio in 1866, in a space at 147 rue Saint-Jacques. As reported in the city directory, he presented himself as both an “artist and teacher of figure & landscape painting.”⁶⁹ In fact, over the next few years, Raphael was as committed to teaching the arts as he was to advancing his own painting career. At a time when no Montreal institution offered training in the fine arts, the young painter found many people eager to learn artistic techniques and to develop the ability to judge works, part of the cultural veneer expected in Victorian society.⁷⁰ Perhaps to better serve his students, Raphael moved his studio four times between 1867 and 1877. But he always made sure he remained at the centre of urban activity, choosing spaces on rue Saint-Jacques and Place d’Armes.⁷¹ In 1878, he moved his studio again—this time to 193 rue Saint-Pierre, a space he kept until around 1883.⁷²

In addition to launching his teaching career, Raphael joined the Society of Canadian Artists, which was founded by John Arthur Fraser in 1867. He became one of the first members of this organization, whose primary aim was to promote the work of local artists at the dawn of Confederation.⁷³ Within this group, Raphael joined the ranks of significant painters such as Frederic Bell-Smith (1846–1923), James Duncan, Allan Edson (1846–1888), and Henry Sandham (1842–1910). Despite the society’s short-lived existence (it shut down in 1873), Raphael took part in its first two exhibitions. He exhibited a total of five works, including two paintings that were later distributed more widely via chromolithography.



William Raphael, *Habitants Attacked by Wolves*, 1870, oil on canvas, 60.3 x 160 cm, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.

The painting entitled *The Early Bird Picks Up the Worm*, shown at the first exhibition in 1868, was reproduced by chromolithographers Roberts & Reinhold in 1869. The following year, *Habitants Attacked by Wolves*, unveiled at the second exhibition, was reproduced by Burland & Lafricain.⁷⁴ In both cases, the prints received good reviews in the press and met certain cultural expectations. In the 1860s, chromolithography was embraced by many amateur collectors and connoisseurs, who viewed it as a process that perfectly imitated watercolours and oil paintings.⁷⁵ This means of reproduction made Raphael's art more affordable and more widely available to a general audience.



LEFT: William Raphael, *Boating at Dusk*, 1878, oil on canvas, 41.3 x 31.1 cm, collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. RIGHT: William Raphael, *Cap-à-l'Aigle, August 3, 1878*, graphite on wove paper, 9.4 x 14.6 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

From the mid-1860s to the early 1870s, while still teaching, Raphael began to diversify his thematic repertoire by producing landscapes. With the growth of the railroads, he made numerous summer trips, discovering new places to

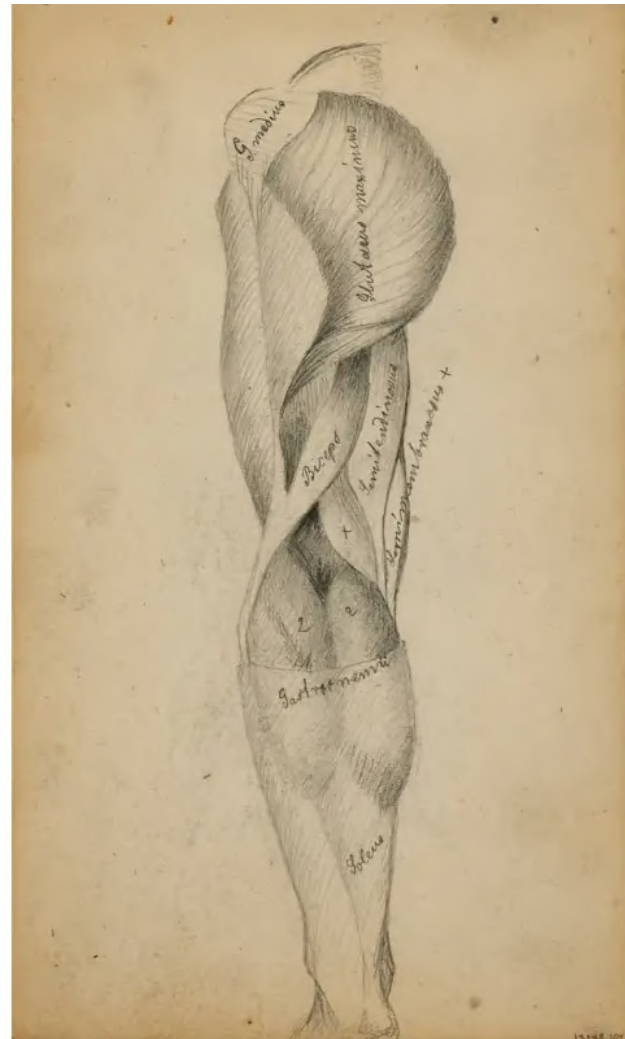
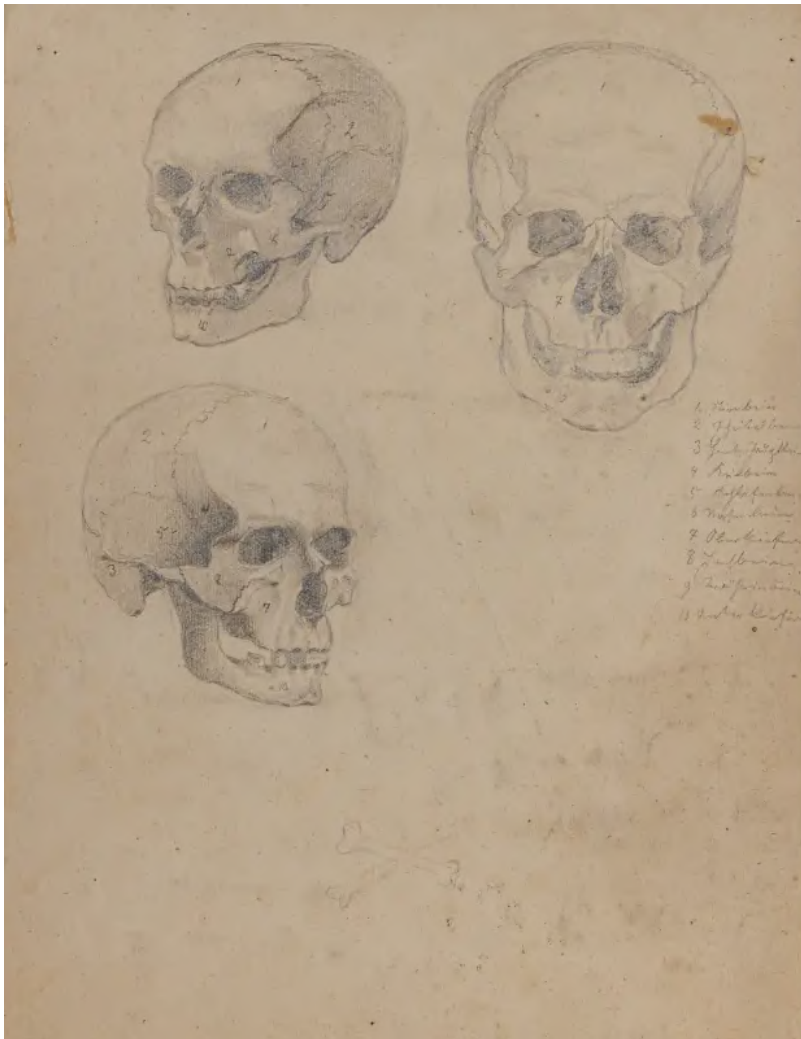
include in works like *Boating at Dusk*, 1878. In addition to recording drawings in his notebooks, he produced *plein air* sketches to better capture outdoor scenes. He spent the summer of 1869 in the Charlevoix region, travelling from Murray Bay to Cap-à-l'Aigle, and was very enthusiastic about these places, which had to that point been relatively unknown to painters. "Mr. Raphael speaks in high terms of a district which may well be called the Switzerland of Canada," the *Quebec Daily Mercury* reported, "and which will yet be the favorite sketching ground of the artists of America."⁷⁶ Drawings such as *Cap-à-l'Aigle*, made in August 1878, are reminders that he continued to travel and record his impressions in his sketches.

In addition to landscapes, Raphael increasingly turned his attention to depicting local characters, particularly the figure of the habitant. For example, *Habitant (or Preparing to Smoke)*, c.1872-1910, is a typical composition: the figure is depicted in a closed, windowless room, alone and near a stove. From 1872 onward, Raphael created many scenes featuring the habitant, including *Coachman Standing at Rest Smoking a Pipe*, 1881.

Despite an economic crisis that raged in the West starting in 1873,⁷⁷ Raphael continued his activities and, presumably, to ensure a certain income, accepted various commissions for portraits. These included a series of seven family portraits painted in the mid-1870s of Dr. Louis-Édouard Desjardins; his wife, Zaïde Paré; their respective parents; and an uncle, Father Joseph-Octave Paré, canon of the Montreal cathedral. The *Portrait of Louis-Édouard Desjardins*, 1877, bears a striking resemblance to a photograph published in 1875 in a book by the Reverend J. Douglas Borthwick.⁷⁸ At the time, photography was becoming an increasingly popular tool for painters like Raphael, who could use photographs, rather than preparatory sketches, as accurate references.



William Raphael, *Coachman Standing at Rest Smoking a Pipe*, 1881, oil on canvas, 50.8 x 40.6 cm, collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal.



LEFT: William Raphael, *Study of a Human Skull*, 1851-56, graphite on paper, 83.5 x 57.5 cm, collection of Dr. Stevenson Strobel, Toronto.
RIGHT: William Raphael, *Anatomy Study of Leg Muscles*, 1853-57, graphite on wove paper, 20.1 x 11.6 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

Raphael also began receiving requests from members of Montreal's medical community. At the end of the 1870s, for example, Dr. William Osler commissioned him to depict organs and various pathologies to illustrate Osler's articles and supplement his teaching.⁷⁹ A drawing dated 1880, formerly held at McGill University's Osler Library, exemplified this unusual creative approach by the artist.⁸⁰ Its raw style served as a reminder that the image was intended for a limited audience of students and medical professionals. Though medical illustration was only a short-lived endeavour, it was nevertheless a rare opportunity for Raphael to build upon skills he had developed during his training in Berlin, where he often made sketches depicting human anatomy, such as skulls and leg muscles.

A CORNERSTONE OF CANADIAN ART

In 1879, following a generous bequest from the well-known art collector Benaiah Gibb, the Art Association of Montreal (AAM) opened its first permanent pavilion in Phillips Square, ushering in a new era in Canadian art.⁸¹ As an accomplished artist with a well-established reputation, William Raphael was naturally included in the exhibition held at the building's inauguration in May 1879. Attended by the governor general of Canada, the Marquess of Lorne (John Campbell, 1845-1914), and his wife, Princess Louise (1848-1939), it was one of the city's most prestigious events.⁸²



William Raphael, *Pack of Wolves*, c.1879, charcoal on paper, 31.5 x 57 cm, McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal.

Several European paintings were displayed alongside works by Canadian artists like Henry Sandham, James Duncan, Daniel Fowler (1810–1894), and Thomas Mower Martin (1838–1934). Raphael exhibited an oil painting entitled *Habitants Pursued by Wolves*.⁸³ The work cannot be located today, but a charcoal drawing called *Pack of Wolves*, 1879, preserved at the McCord Stewart Museum, may be a preparatory study.

Also in 1879, building on his ties to the arts community, Raphael became a member of the Ontario Society of Artists (OSA), an association founded seven years earlier by John Arthur Fraser.⁸⁴ Membership allowed him to take part in the group's annual exhibition, held in Toronto in September of that year. He presented four paintings, including the ambitious landscape *Indian Encampment on the Lower St. Lawrence Estuary*, 1879.⁸⁵ The exhibition was covered in several newspapers because of a visit from the Marquess of Lorne,⁸⁶ and also because it gave rise to a project to form a royal academy of arts in Canada.⁸⁷ Seizing the opportunity, Lucius R. O'Brien (1832–1899), the vice-president of the OSA, drew up a constitution and gave the governor general the names of eight artists to be considered as the first academicians. The select group included William Raphael (who became a naturalized Canadian in 1872),⁸⁸ indicating the high esteem in which he was held.⁸⁹



LEFT: William Raphael, *Indian Encampment on the Lower St. Lawrence*, 1879, oil on canvas, 61.3 x 107 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. RIGHT: William Raphael, *Pointe-au-Pic, Murray Bay—Approaching Storm*, 1878, oil on cardboard, 28.3 x 45.4 cm, collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal.

With the official inauguration of the Canadian Academy of Arts on March 6, 1880 (it took the name Royal Canadian Academy of Arts in 1882),⁹⁰ Raphael became one of the founding academicians.⁹¹ His large composition *Indian Encampment on the Lower St. Lawrence Estuary* was accepted as a reception piece.⁹² The ambitious nightscape, depicting the high cliffs of Cap-Blanc, was also part of the academy's first exhibition, which opened at Ottawa's Clarendon Hotel on March 8. The painting was additionally reproduced in the April 10 edition of the *Canadian Illustrated News*, alongside three other works presented at the first exhibition.⁹³ The pieces were accompanied by a few words that captured the public's intense interest in the academy:

[W]e publish to-day a few of the diploma pictures which figured at the late Exhibition of the Canadian Academy of Arts at Ottawa. In almost every respect, this first test Exhibition was a success, testifying to the ability of our native artists, and giving the very best reply to the croakers who pretended that the country was not aesthetically prepared for so important an institution.⁹⁴

The governor general's support for the arts in Canada was reaffirmed when it was announced that he had purchased six works from the exhibition for his personal collection, including a painting by Homer Watson (1855–1936), another by Fraser, three works by O'Brien, and a painting by William Raphael.⁹⁵ Raphael's piece, *L'Habitant (The Habitant)*, received a rave review in *Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly and National Review*, which called it "simply perfect."⁹⁶

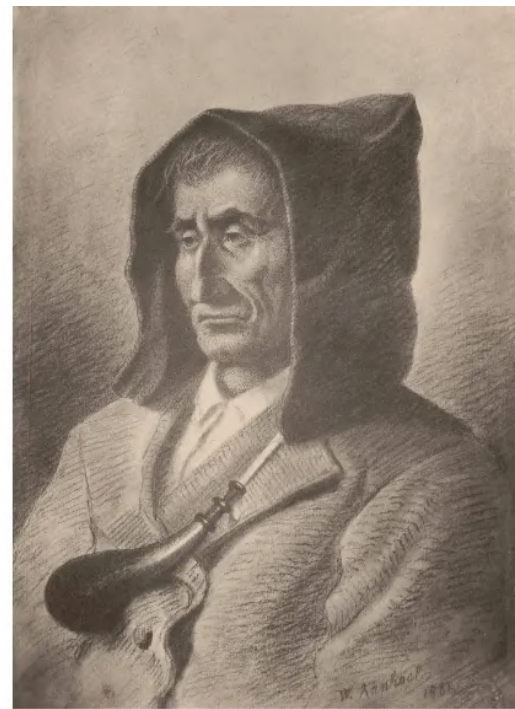
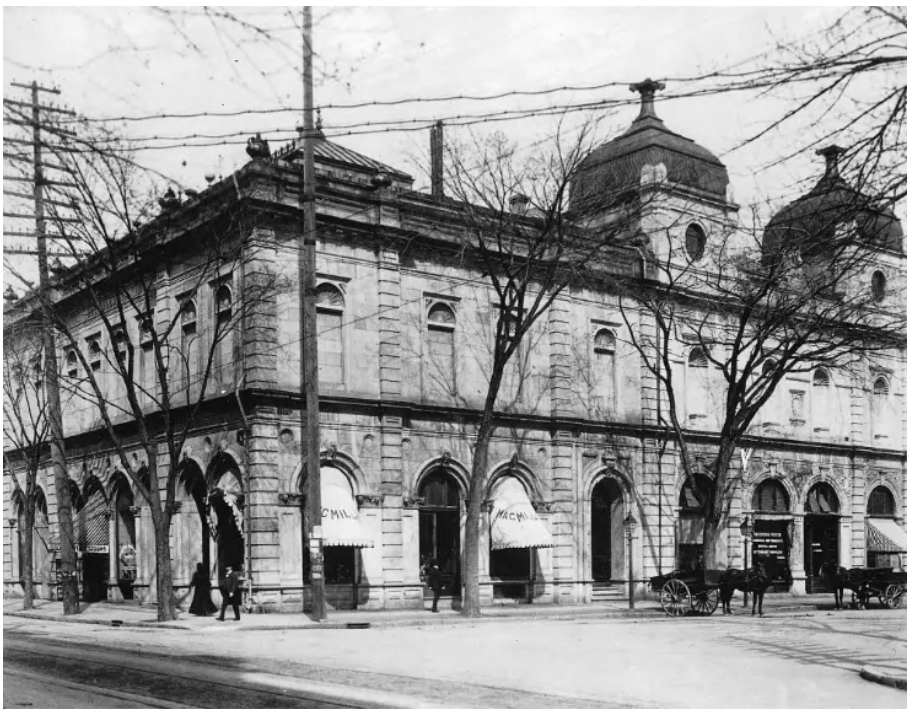


Homer Watson, *The Pioneer Mill*, 1880, oil on canvas, 86 x 127.8 cm, Royal Collection Trust, Windsor Castle, Berkshire.

The accolades and high-profile support encouraged Raphael to invest in the new institution. He became one of the first members of its board,

took part in various meetings, and made sure to participate in its annual exhibitions.⁹⁷ In 1882, he was even named a member of the organizing committee for the next exhibition, to be held in Montreal, sharing the honour with Napoléon Bourassa (1827-1916), Thomas Mower Martin, and William Nicoll Cresswell (1818-1888).⁹⁸ He continued to play a constant role in Montreal's artistic development, which included accepting an invitation in 1879 to teach painting to the Sisters of Sainte-Anne congregation.⁹⁹ This helped him establish links with the community, which then engaged him to create some religious works for the chapel, a notable career departure.¹⁰⁰

Raphael's stellar reputation and his fifteen years of experience as a teacher made him an obvious candidate when the Art Association of Montreal began looking for someone to oversee a series of courses the organization wanted to offer at its new pavilion in Phillips Square. This initiative would allow the association to achieve one of its core objectives: to educate and train Canadian artists. At the end of 1880, the AAM hired Raphael and announced in the newspapers that three courses were now open for enrolment. According to the *Gazette*, one of those courses was "in figure painting and drawing, under the instruction of Mr. Raphael."¹⁰¹ The other two courses were in composition and landscape painting, taught by Allan Edson, and modelling and sculpture, taught by François Van Luppen (1838-1899). Classes began in January 1881 and attracted forty-two students in all. Edson did not continue teaching the following autumn, and Raphael took over the composition and landscape course.



LEFT: William Notman & Sons, *Art Association Building, Phillips' Square, Montreal, QC, c.1893*, silver salts on paper mounted on paper, 20.3 x 25.4 cm, McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal. RIGHT: Georges-Édouard-Amable Desbarats, after William Raphael, *Study of the Head of an Iroquois Chief, Caughnawaga, 1881*, McGill Libraries, Rare Books and Special Collections, Montreal.

As these first classes were being offered, the AAM began work on a "portfolio containing ten autotype copies of original pictures,"¹⁰² intended to be distributed to all its members. Printed in 1881 by George-Édouard Desbarats (1838-1893), the portfolio included pieces by Way, Edson, O'Brien, Fraser, and Sandham.¹⁰³ Raphael was the only artist to be represented twice, with *Scene at Murray Bay, 1881*, which offers a view of the majestic rocky cape similar to that

found in *Indian Encampment on the Lower St. Lawrence Estuary*, and *Study of the Head of an Iroquois Chief, Caughnawaga*, 1881.¹⁰⁴ The collection was a chance to promote not only Raphael's reputation but also his abilities as a teacher in figure and landscape painting.

As a leading player on the Montreal and broader Canadian art scene, Raphael was also invited by Lucius R. O'Brien to take part in the book *Picturesque Canada*, a kind of travelogue that would be richly illustrated with engravings. Four of his works were commissioned to be reproduced in the book, which was edited by George Monro Grant, rector of Queen's University in Kingston. Presumably because of his earlier work, Raphael was asked to create images for the section devoted to French Canadians. The pieces were *An Old Habitant* (based on an 1881 painting), *Habitant with Snowshoes*, and *Half-Breed Fisherman*. A final image, used at the start of the chapter, depicts a seated man with a pipe in his hand—a subject often taken up by the artist. The colossal work, published in 1882, had 880 pages and over 500 woodcuts in two leather-bound volumes and was one of the most sumptuous printed works to appear in Canada at the time.¹⁰⁵

TENSIONS AND CLASHING VISIONS

William Raphael's career success did not shield him from the struggles that could emerge in the rather restricted artistic environment of the early 1880s. He found himself immersed in various disputes that reflected the rise of anti-Semitism following the 1881 assassination of Tsar Alexander II—an event falsely blamed on the Jewish community. Anti-Jewish sentiment led not only to pogroms in Russia and Romania and to the scandalous Dreyfus affair in France,¹⁰⁶ but also to racial discrimination that emboldened the rhetoric of the most fearsome anti-Semites, including historian and journalist Goldwin Smith (1823–1910) in Toronto.

Smith, who described Jews as "parasites,"¹⁰⁷ spread his racist ideas in the columns of many newspapers. He was one of several Canadian writers peddling anti-Jewish sentiment in the 1880s; others included John Wilson Bengough (1851–1923) in Toronto,



William Raphael, *Habitant Warming*, 1872–1910, oil on canvas, 35.5 x 27.9 cm, collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal.

through his magazine *Grip*,¹⁰⁸ and Jules-Paul Tardivel (1851–1905) in Quebec City, through his newspaper *La Vérité*.¹⁰⁹ Like some members of the clergy, these people helped to spread a negative view of Jews in Quebec and throughout Canada, and Smith's ideas in particular later strongly influenced several prominent politicians and statesmen, including Henri Bourassa, William Lyon Mackenzie King, and Vincent Massey.¹¹⁰

It was in this context that the Art Association of Montreal decided, in December 1882, not to renew William Raphael's appointment as a professor. The organization suspended classes for a few months, during which time the board of directors formed an arts education committee¹¹¹ and began to develop a new vision, taking as a model the art school at the South Kensington Museum in London (renamed the Victoria & Albert Museum in 1899).¹¹²



LEFT: "South Kensington Museum: The Sculpture Hall," in *The Queen's London: A Pictorial and Descriptive Record* (London: Cassell & Co., 1896), page 171. RIGHT: Robert Harris, *Self-Portrait*, 1910, oil on canvas, 77.2 x 61.1 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.



Strongly convinced of the supposed artistic superiority of this institution, the members of the AAM's education committee set about recruiting a British teacher. This approach was unsuccessful, and the association opted instead for a teacher from Montreal's English-speaking community who was familiar with the principles of academic training. In 1883, the AAM introduced portraitist Robert Harris (1849–1919) as its new—and only—teacher. Trained not in London but in Paris, Harris set out to duplicate the French Beaux-Arts model.

This professional blow did not prevent Raphael, now on the cusp of turning fifty, from continuing his artistic work and teaching. Perhaps as a response to the AAM's machinations, he chose to show a sketch depicting a scene from one of his popular *plein air* painting sessions as part of the organization's spring 1883 exhibition.¹¹³ It should be emphasized that this painting reflects an avant-garde teaching approach, indicating that Raphael was likely one of the first art teachers in Canada to give outdoor drawing and painting classes, many years before landscape painter William Brymner (1855–1925) followed suit.¹¹⁴

Raphael also continued to teach in several other places. In addition to giving classes to the nuns of Sainte-Anne, he became a professor of oil painting at the Montreal Society of Decorative Art.¹¹⁵ In 1884, he was also recruited by Mrs. Lovell's Educational Institute,¹¹⁶ an English-speaking Montreal school for the education of young girls. And he continued to offer painting and drawing lessons in his own studio, where he had been welcoming and training students for close to two decades.



William Raphael, *A Sketch from Nature*, October 5, 1882, oil on board, 25.4 x 20.3 cm, collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal.

His extensive involvement in arts education over the years prompted him to take steps to obtain funding for his studio. He applied to the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts (RCA), which has had a budget to support arts education in Canada since 1884. Raphael's applications that year and in 1885 failed to convince the board, however.¹¹⁷ Faced with these successive rejections, he must have felt as if the Canadian art world—which had once welcomed him so

warmly, and had even relied on his reputation at various foundational moments to achieve its goals—had suddenly turned its back on him.

In 1884, Raphael relocated his studio to 1310 rue Sainte-Catherine,¹¹⁸ not far from the AAM. His courses competed directly with those offered by the association. He placed numerous newspaper ads, in both the *Gazette* and the *Montreal Star*, to publicize his classes and recruit new students.¹¹⁹ These were repeated the following year, in September and October, and every year after that until September 1908.¹²⁰ The AAM could not have been pleased by the success of William Raphael's studio, as reported in the newspapers of the day. On June 6, 1885, for example, the *Montreal Star* covered a drawing exhibition he'd organized and highlighted the work of his students, many of whom were associated with influential Montreal families, such as the Lighthalls, Lymans, Allans, and Morgans.¹²¹ A few days later, Raphael himself was also singled out for praise by the *Gazette*:

The first thought that comes to the beholder is that the teacher had undoubtedly impressed upon his pupils the duty of striving after truth above all things.... [The drawings exhibited are] a more praiseworthy proof of the instructor's tact and assiduity that, while aiding the innate gift of each of his pupils to unfold in its own way, he has been able to impart to them all a real appreciation of artistic truthfulness with the feeling for accuracy in technique.¹²²

That year, Raphael had thirty students, according to the *Montreal Star*. This was an impressive number in comparison to the thirty-seven enrolled in the courses offered by Robert Harris at the AAM, which had superior premises and financial resources.¹²³

In 1886, William Brymner succeeded Harris as course director. He continued teaching in the French academic tradition established by his predecessor.¹²⁴ That same year, the press began to question the supposed impartiality of the organizing committees of the AAM and RCA exhibitions.¹²⁵ Attention was called to the favouritism shown towards certain painters—especially Brymner, O'Brien, and Harris. The lack of financial transparency was also openly criticized, as was the authority of the AAM secretary, a Mr. English, who seemed to run the institution as he pleased.



William Brymner with his students at the Art Association of Montreal, 1902, photographer unknown.

As the AAM found itself embroiled in controversy, it attempted to divert attention to William Raphael. Mr. English made contemptuous and misleading

remarks about him that were eventually reported in the newspaper: "Raphael, being a teacher, cannot be expected to paint, besides he never had any education except what he got in Notman's studio, painting photographs. All the pictures which he has sent to the gallery for the last few years have been failures."¹²⁶ Faced with this defamation, Raphael took to his pen to correct the facts. "For those of the public who may have been misled by the information received from this gentleman concerning me," he replied, "I may state that I was born and educated in Germany, that I was a student of the Royal Academy of Berlin for nearly eight years uninterruptedly, and received a first-class education as an artist."¹²⁷

Raphael's obvious desire to retaliate against a detractor—even if it meant adding a few years to his training (which lasted for five years, instead of eight)—is understandable. But for the AAM, it was a successful campaign to redirect public attention from its own shortcomings and discredit an important rival in arts education in Montreal. This attack marked a turning point in William Raphael's career. If he persisted in giving courses, he realized that it would no longer be possible for him to reconnect with this network. His new works were increasingly ignored by the critics; all eyes were now on Brymner and his entourage.

Compared to Raphael, who had been active in Montreal cultural circles for nearly thirty years, Brymner was a relative newcomer. But he could boast of his recent training in Paris, notably at the Académie Julian, with teachers such as William Bouguereau (1825–1905).¹²⁸ Both his training and his work—with its focus on a lighter palette and bucolic subjects—appealed to the bourgeois tastes of the time. Brymner soon marked Canadian art with these aesthetic trends, which also contributed to changes in people's appraisal of Raphael's work. As a man of the clan, Brymner didn't hesitate to exclude Raphael from his orbit,¹²⁹ and then, on the strength of his authority and his position at the AAM, he began to question Raphael's teaching in public lectures.¹³⁰



LEFT: William Raphael, *Awaiting Mother's Return on a Snowy Day*, 1891, oil on canvas, 71.1 x 43.2 cm, collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. RIGHT: William Brymner, *In the Orchard (Spring)*, 1892, oil on paperboard, 40.2 x 30.6 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

In 1890, Raphael helped found a new cultural association, the Pen and Pencil Club, but he had to distance himself from it when Brymner and Harris became members the following year.¹³¹ Raphael also resigned from the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts in 1896, no doubt disheartened by the institution's lack of financial support for his career and the reality of the professional and social landscape of Montreal.¹³²

LATER YEARS

By the end of the nineteenth century, William Raphael had a large family of children and grandchildren. Some of them settled in the United States, while his youngest daughter and his father-in-law lived in his home. He continued his work but kept his distance from the power struggles he'd experienced for so many years. He revisited some favourite subjects in his repertoire, creating peaceful landscapes, such as *Two Women in Rowboat Near Shoreline*, 1911, and scenes from everyday life, such as *The Artist's House in Victoria St.*, 1908, as well as portraits of his family and even his beloved dogs.



LEFT: William Raphael, *The Artist's House in Victoria St.*, 1908, watercolour on paper, 26.7 x 31.8 cm, collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. RIGHT: William Raphael, *The Artist's Dog Niny*, c.1895, oil on canvas, 30.5 x 40.6 cm, collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal.

Still active as a teacher, Raphael told a journalist in 1888 that "[w]ithout teaching, no local artist could live here."¹³³ His studio welcomed students until around 1909, and in 1896, he also agreed to teach art classes in Sherbrooke, in the Art Building erected in 1887.¹³⁴ Until his last days, he remained available to give lessons and advice to the religious community of the Sisters of Sainte-Anne.¹³⁵ Over the years, he had met and trained several nuns, including Sister Marie-Hélène-de-la-Croix (née Élisabeth Martin, 1861-1956). For their part, the nuns had repeatedly demonstrated their appreciation of his knowledge and pedagogy. In 1910, the community acquired Raphael's collection of plasters. In a letter dated September 17, he wrote: "I am most pleased to know that my Collection will be in an institution in which I had the pleasure to be for many years so well acquainted with many of the Sisters."¹³⁶

Sister Marie-Hélène-de-la-Croix and the entire community of nuns were quick to recognize the qualities of both artist and teacher. In 1911, Sister Marie-Hélène painted a portrait of Raphael, which she presented to him as a gift in 1912.¹³⁷ At the same time, she was probably working on a second portrait, to be kept in the congregation's painting studio. She took pains to keep the format and dimensions consistent with a series of previously purchased works representing the great painters of the Renaissance and Baroque periods. The portrait of William Raphael eventually became part of a suite of paintings of artists including Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519), Raphael, Titian (c.1488-1576), Guido Reni (1575-1642), Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), and Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641). In this way, the Montreal painter took his place among the great masters of art history.



LEFT: Sister Marie-Hélène-de-la-Croix, *Portrait of William Raphael*, c.1911, oil on paper on cardboard, 33 x 18 cm, Musée de Lachine, Montreal. RIGHT: Series of medallion portraits, including that of William Raphael, as displayed in the center of the wall in the painting studio of the Sisters of Sainte-Anne, c.1945, photographer unknown.



WILLIAM RAPHAEL

Life & Work by Pierre-Olivier Ouellet

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Raphael no longer enjoyed the prestige he had in the late 1870s. His works were not the talk of the newspapers. Although a few people still came to chat with the old artist in his studio, he didn't seek the attention of the art world. His professional and personal work was done, and he could look back in peace on the full life he had lived, from Nakel to Montreal. When he died on March 13, 1914, the last tributes to the painter appeared in the daily papers.¹³⁸ Despite his disconnection from the cultural scene in the twilight of his life, the artist was not entirely forgotten.



William Raphael, painter, c.1900, photographer unknown, McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal.



KEY WORKS

During his fifty-seven-year career in Montreal, William Raphael became known for his genre scenes depicting the activities of everyday Canadians. Although most art historians have focused on his oil paintings of the Bonsecours Market, Raphael produced a profound and diverse body of work, punctuated by numerous portraits and landscapes. Inspired by his adopted country and its people, he never ceased depicting them through art imbued with realism.

HAYMARKET SQUARE / VICTORIA SQUARE, 1861



William Raphael, *Haymarket Square / Victoria Square*, 1861

Oil on canvas, 51.1 x 63.5 cm

Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal

Painted at the beginning of William Raphael's career, this work is an example of his talent for depicting nineteenth-century urban life. With this piece, Raphael showcases his ability to create a genre scene that takes up the principles of the Biedermeier movement, which favoured realistic portrayals of everyday life. Here, he captures the bustle of the Montreal haymarket in Victoria Square.¹

The square was named in honour of Queen Victoria (1819-1901) following the October 1860 royal visit of her son, the future Edward VII (1841-1910).² This trading space was an essential part of the city and provided a connection to the surrounding farms and lands. Locals went to the square to buy supplies for their horses and cattle, which at the time played a crucial role in transporting goods and people.

An 1866 photograph of Victoria Square produced by the William Notman Studio shows that Raphael strove for accuracy in his work. The painting is also comparable to a scene created by James Duncan (1806–1881) in 1853, the same year as a series of riots that broke out in front of the Zion Church in response to anti-Catholic speeches given by Alessandro Gavazzi, an Italian religious reformer. While Raphael and Duncan are both exacting in their depictions of the space, they frame it in very different ways: Duncan takes a more panoramic view, while Raphael invites us into the square, closer to its activity.



LEFT: James Duncan, *The Gavazzi Riot in Montreal*, 1853, watercolour, sepia ink, graphite, and gouache on wove paper, 32.6 x 41.3 cm, Museum of Civilization, Quebec City. RIGHT: William Notman Studio, *Beaver Hall Hill from Victoria Square, Montreal, QC*, 1866, 1866, silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 8.5 x 5.6 cm, McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal.



In the right foreground of Raphael's painting, we see a wood sawyer and a water vendor, representing the various small trades associated with this Montreal landmark. In the centre, a barefoot child drinks from the "fountain of health," a stone structure crowned with an image of a beaver.³ A harnessed horse also drinks from the fountain, while its owner stands patiently on his empty cart. To the left, a full load of hay is pulled by a white horse escorted by a man who threatens the animal with his whip. These two carts, full and empty, underline the idea of exchanges taking place in the market space. Further on, in the middle ground, several carriages are grouped together. One of the carts, heavily laden, passes through the central opening of a symmetrical red-brick building. This is a weighing building, constructed in 1842; it's essential for determining the weight and value of any hay load.⁴

Raphael also offers, in great detail, a precise view of the buildings that surrounded the square at the time. To the far left, part of the facade of St. Andrew's, a Presbyterian church destroyed by fire in 1869, is visible. More centrally, a sloping roof, its peak decorated with a cross, can be seen. This is the Unitarian Church of the Messiah (destroyed by fire in 1987), whose front face is marked by arched stained-glass windows. On the right-hand side of the composition, recognizable by its grey roof and dormer windows, is the Hospice Sainte-Brigide (demolished in 1900), a shelter for the sick, the destitute, and the homeless.

BEHIND BONSECOURS MARKET, MONTREAL, 1866



William Raphael, *Behind Bonsecours Market, Montreal, 1866*

Oil on canvas, 67.5 x 109.6 cm

National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa

This painting, produced in 1866, is a central work in William Raphael's oeuvre because of both its larger format and the critical attention it received. It seems to spontaneously capture a bustling city street, with crowds gathering near the temporary stalls that line the Bonsecours Market, a landmark of Montreal's old port. Although it has a snapshot-like quality, the work was actually the fruit of several years of effort, with Raphael producing numerous versions that provoked a variety of responses from art critics of his era. This significant composition—exemplary of Raphael's masterful application of Biedermeier principles—has endured: it was selected for the cover of the first edition of *The Illustrated History of Canada* in 1987.

Two drawings by Raphael reveal the beginnings of *Behind Bonsecours Market*. Around 1857, he drew a violin player and an architectural view of the rear of the Notre-Dame-de-Bon-Secours Chapel: two motifs that he repeated years later. But it was only in 1865 that he produced his first painting depicting the back of the famous market. Small in scale, that piece was presented in September of that year at the Montreal Provincial Exhibition. Included in the fine arts section of the event, held at the Crystal Palace, the work attracted the lukewarm attention of an anonymous correspondent from the *Journal de Québec*.¹ The reporter

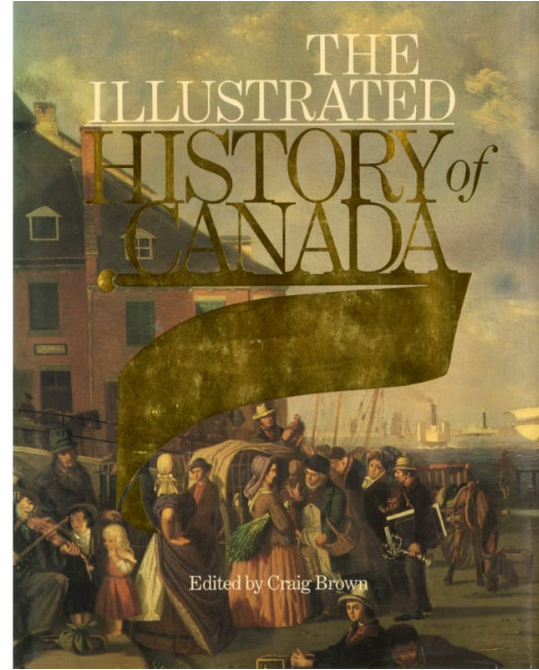
began by criticizing the artist's name—"It's such a difficult name for a painter to bear that it's ridiculous"—and then he went on to write a mixed review of the piece: "[T]he scene this artist treats is quite skilfully rendered: it's the Bonsecours market on the banks of the river. The group of peasants is well done, but some of the characters, especially the listeners to the strolling fiddler, verge on caricature, and that's a fault."²

A second critical review appeared in the newspaper *La Minerve*. Once again anonymous, this appraisal complained more about the subject matter than the composition: "But why, in all the *Bonsecours markets* (of which there are many) signed by Raphaël, Duncan or others, are Canadians always given outfits and expressions that would be impossible to notice in their habits today?"³

The two reviews, both published on September 27, 1865, could have been by the same hand, and might even have been penned by Napoléon Bourassa (1827–1916), an artist renowned for his writings on and knowledge of the Renaissance masters, including Fra Angelico (1395–1455) and Raphael (1483–1520).⁴ Some months earlier, in an issue of *La Revue canadienne*, Bourassa had critiqued a William Raphael painting exhibited the previous year at the salon of the Art Association of Montreal. That painting, depicting a street scene in front of the Bonsecours Market, had earned these mocking words: "We do have a Raphaël, who last year painted our Bonsecours Market, with lots of sheep, calves, cows, pigs, broods... under the effect of a setting sun; but we must confess with humility, this Raphaël is not the right one—I hope I can say this without insulting him."⁵ Making no secret of his displeasure with the artist's name and the caricatured appearance of some of his figures, Bourassa wrote in a way that seems too similar to the texts published in September 1865 to be ignored.

William Raphael was aware of the pejorative comments about his skills. These remarks seemed to him all the more inappropriate when his work won first prize for oil painting at the exhibition.⁶ In response to the insults, Raphael produced a variation of his piece the following year. In that version, he incorporated a deliberately caricatured figure of a blind critic who stands in the way of foreign artists wishing to enter Montreal.⁷ The work was sent to Scotland in November 1866 and probably purchased at its exhibition.⁸ To date, it has not been traced.

In February 1867, Raphael displayed a new larger version of *Behind Bonsecours Market* at the Art Association of Montreal exhibition.⁹ This was most likely the work now in the collection of the National Gallery of Canada, and it was an



LEFT: William Raphael, *Man Playing Violin Under Lamppost*, 1853–57, graphite on wove paper, 20.1 x 11.6 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. RIGHT: Cover of *The Illustrated History of Canada*, edited by Craig Brown (Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1987).

ambitious piece for an artist still at the beginning of his career. The composition is marked by a large diagonal that runs down the roofs and across the painting to the lower right. In this way, the canvas is separated between the vast sky and luminous blue of the water and the bustle of people crowding around the market.

The work is dynamic and also sonorous, even noisy. An elderly man listens to the music of a fiddler, his hand resting on an axe. Two children, one of them a little blonde girl who pensively places the index finger of her left hand on her mouth, watch the musician attentively. To the sounds of the violin is added the murmur of the many conversations taking place. Some people on the left seem to be negotiating the price of various commodities, while those in the centre are chatting, having perhaps unexpectedly crossed paths as they went about their business. On the slope behind them, the sound of horses and the creaking of carts can be heard.

Inspired by life in Montreal, Raphael thus offers his view of activities carried out by modest people of diverse origins with whom he can even identify. In fact, some experts believe that the figure in the centre, carrying a portfolio and a candlestick, is a self-portrait.¹⁰



William Raphael, *Bonsecours Market, Montreal*, 1880, oil on canvas, 30.4 x 40.7 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

THE EARLY BIRD PICKS UP THE WORM, 1869



Roberts & Reinhold, after William Raphael, *The Early Bird Picks Up the Worm*, 1869
Chromolithograph
Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa

The Early Bird Picks Up the Worm was painted by William Raphael in 1868 and reproduced as a chromolithograph, or full-colour print, the following year. Light-hearted but with an element of morality, the work draws on the well-known proverb about the early bird getting the worm. It is noteworthy not just as a reflection of the artist's sense of humour but as a reminder of the interest in chromolithographic reproduction in Canada in the 1860s.

This painting appears to be a reworking of a similar piece by Raphael called *The Rival Beggars*, 1861. While he retained the composition of the earlier work, he altered the appearance of the man on the left, the shape of the door separating the figures, and the overall architectural context to make the dome of the Bonsecours Market visible in the distance. The tone of the piece has changed as well. In the reworked version, the man on the left wears a satisfied expression as he emerges from a house with a bag filled with food. The other man, also in search of food, cannot hide his disappointment as he realizes he's arrived too late and the charity of the homeowners has likely already been exhausted.¹

In March 1869, Roberts & Reinbold, a high-quality Montreal printing studio, produced a chromolithograph of *The Early Bird Picks Up the Worm*. The work was immediately heralded in the press as a technical breakthrough surpassing all previous attempts in the field.² The newspaper *Le Pays* was particularly effusive in its praise. "The artist, Mr. Reinhold, has given his painting all the vigour and depth of oil painting," the paper reported. "Lovers of the fine arts among us should take pride in encouraging as much as possible this new art, which brings the productions of the great masters within everyone's reach, and tends to popularize the love of beauty."³

At a price of just three dollars apiece, chromolithographs were affordable and made it possible for "many Canadian homes... to boast of oil-paintings which never did so before," according to the *Daily Witness*.⁴ Collectors, artists, and critics alike saw the value in reproducing works in full colour with great accuracy. Among lithographers, Roberts & Reinhold stood out for their technical ingenuity and the quality of their creations. After becoming business partners in 1864,



William Raphael, *The Rival Beggars*, 1861, oil on canvas, 66 x 61 cm, collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal.



WILLIAM RAPHAEL

Life & Work by Pierre-Olivier Ouellet

Rudolf Reinhold and William Roberts presented their work at many provincial exhibitions and won some awards.⁵

While chromolithography ensured a democratization of art, the process was complex and required specialized know-how. The chromolithograph of *The Early Bird Picks Up the Worm*, for example, needed twenty-one progressive proofs, with each one adding colour to the image until it was complete.⁶ Two full sets of these proofs have been preserved at the National Gallery of Canada and the Château Ramezay museum in Montreal. They provide a better understanding of the chromolithographic technique and constitute an exceptional case study of how colour prints were made in Canada during the nineteenth century.⁷ Generally, such series, which detail the stages in the reproduction process, have not been preserved, making these proofs particularly noteworthy in the history of Canadian art.

TANDEM, 1869



William Raphael, *Tandem*, 1869

Oil on canvas, 56.5 x 92.3 cm

Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec, Quebec City

With its diagonal composition, *Tandem* is a dynamic painting that highlights the reality of the Canadian winter, with the darkness on the horizon portending a snowstorm. The work was immediately presented to the public by gallery owner William Scott, who must have been delighted to discover this new piece by an esteemed painter. It was praised in the January 29 edition of the *Evening Star*, which noted that the “pelting and indefinite [sic] storm of snow and hail... is very characteristic of our winter.”¹



LEFT: Cornelius Krieghoff, *Montmorency Falls*, 1853, oil on canvas, 91.4 x 121.9 cm, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto. RIGHT: James Duncan, *The Quebec Tandem Club, Champ De Mars, Montreal*, c.1840, watercolour and gouache over soft pencil on paper, 32.2 x 47.0 cm, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

Although it was not unusual to see sleighs represented in Canadian art—they appear in works by artists from James Peachey (d.1797) to Cornelius Krieghoff (1815–1872)—the painting, with its depiction of children and a winter storm, reflects Raphael's interest in themes that had been relatively unexplored at the time. Art historian Mario Béland's description of the work could not be more accurate:

[A] boy, in a hurry to avoid the storm, drives a sled loaded with firewood and pulled by two dogs. On either side of the sled, two other boys keep the beasts moving with their shouts, sticks or whips. Farther back, standing out against the dark mass of clouds, a woman sunken in the snow, probably the mother, painstakingly follows the group with the youngest child. To the left, at the bottom of a hill, the typical Canadian log cabin!²

Despite the threat of the coming snow, the work exudes joyfulness. The children, no doubt pleased with the speed of their sled, make funny faces. The one on the left even smiles broadly as he shows the young driver how to place his hands to control the steering. Even the work's title, *Tandem*, was chosen to amuse the viewer: at the time, the word "tandem" was used to describe luxurious sleighs pulled by two horses, harnessed one in front of the other. Raphael's depiction of these young people, whose makeshift sleigh is simply pulled by two dogs, is also a sly nod to the prestigious Tandem Clubs of Montreal and Quebec City, whose excursions were elaborate parades to show off their members' wealth and refinement.³

In a sign of its success, the 1869 composition was repeated in another version in 1878, with more emphasis placed on the young boys, who have managed to turn the winter chore of fetching firewood into a game.⁴ The mother, seen in the earlier piece trudging through the snow with her youngest child in tow, has disappeared, and the blackened sky heralding the storm now gives a slight glimpse of clearing.

THE MCFARLANE CHILDREN, 1871



William Raphael, after James Inglis, *The McFarlane Children*, 1871
Oil on canvas, mounted on Masonite, 114.8 x 90.5 x 0.4 cm
National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa

In the years following his arrival in Montreal in 1857, William Raphael produced numerous portraits of prominent members of Canadian society. The painting *The McFarlane Children*, although made later, is nonetheless part of this early practice. This work, which is also an example of a group portrait of children from the same family, is reminiscent of the portraits of children painted by Théophile Hamel (1817–1870) in the middle of the century¹ and the photographic portraits produced by William Notman (1826–1891). These works reveal a new sentimentality—one tinged with affection—for childhood during the Victorian period.

This piece, which is part photograph and part painting, also demonstrates Raphael's use of photography as a resource for his work. Since its invention in the 1830s, photography has been regarded as a documentary tool as much as an art form. But it nonetheless quickly slipped into the sphere of activity of painters, creating important connections between the disciplines. While some abandoned their brushes and became photographers, others collaborated with photography studios, even using photographic images to compose their paintings.



LEFT: Théophile Hamel, *Noémie, Eugénie, Antoinette, and Séphora Hamel, Nieces of the Artist*, 1854, oil on canvas, 74 x 96.8 cm, Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec, Quebec City. RIGHT: William Notman, *Mrs. J.E. Smith's Children, Montreal, QC*, 1869, albumen process, 17.8 x 12.7 cm, McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal.



William Raphael put his talents to work for William Notman and Abner Bedee Taber (1832–1866), thus developing relationships with two of the most important Canadian photographers of the day. *The McFarlane Children* is a rare example of the collaboration between Raphael and photographer James Inglis (1835–1904).² The portrait is signed in the lower left-hand corner of the composition, first with the inscription "J. Inglis Photo" and then, below that, with "W. Raphael fecit." *Fecit* is a Latin word meaning "did"—or in this case, "painted." The names of the two men are followed by the date of creation, 1871.

This work, now in the collection of the National Gallery of Canada, was commissioned by David McFarlane.³ Born in Glasgow, McFarlane settled in Montreal in 1854. Although he was not part of the financial elite, he managed to establish himself in a favourable middle-class position, working for Alex Buntin & Co., a firm that sold office supplies and paper. In 1857, he married Margaret Kennedy and started a family, which by 1871 included five children: Margaret, David Jr., Jean, Ann, and Clement Hugh. Caught up in the Victorian era vogue for photographic portraits, the McFarlanes called on another new Canadian from Scotland, James Inglis, to immortalize their offspring.

Renowned for his composite portraits, Inglis devised the triangular composition of the 1871 work, with young Clement Hugh on a three-wheeled varnished wooden baby carriage in the foreground. Inglis precisely determined the position and posture to be adopted by each of the children, and then set about printing individual portraits of them—notably the *Portrait of Jeanie McFarlane*

and the *Portrait of Annie McFarlane*. With composite photography, the photographs are printed on paper and then the figures are cut out following their contours, assembled, and pasted onto a painted backdrop, usually of an atmospheric landscape. The collage is then harmonized by retouching and integrating the figures into the backdrop. Finally, the collage is photographed so it can be printed in various copies. In this particular case, Inglis called on Raphael to paint a photographic enlargement of the composition instead of limiting himself to black-and-white prints alone.



LEFT: James Inglis, *Portrait of Jeanie McFarlane*, 1871, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. RIGHT: James Inglis, *Portrait of Annie McFarlane*, 1871, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.



Raphael, who had already done this type of work for Notman and Taber at the start of his Montreal career, carried out the commission by reworking the entire surface. He added more saturated colours to the dresses, ribbons, and stroller. Notably, he also paid attention to the colour of the trees, whose foliage is brushed more broadly to produce the blurred effect of the background. Finally, the faces are meticulously painted using an interplay of thin, transparent coats of paint and polished strokes, to respect the photographic likeness.

HABITANT (OR PREPARING TO SMOKE), C.1872–1910



William Raphael, *Habitant (or Preparing to Smoke)*, c.1872-1910

Oil on canvas, 35 x 27 cm

Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal

In the early 1870s, William Raphael introduced an approach that would later become a recurrent part of his work. In a departure from the genre scenes and portraits that had defined so much of his practice, he began to paint highly simplified renderings of French Canadian habitants—generally farmers living in rural Quebec—shown in domestic settings. The image seen here is somewhat indebted to Cornelius Krieghoff (1815–1872) and his *The Smoker* (*Le Fumeur*), c.1855–1860, and precedes by several years the work of Marc-Aurèle de Foy Suzor-Coté (1869–1937), who often painted the same subject, as in *Father Moreau* (*Le Père Moreau*), 1921. For Raphael, this new approach allowed him to reconstruct, in a sensitive and empathetic way, the world of these modest people.

The first known example of this subject in Raphael's work is found in a lithograph produced in 1872. The figure is identified as "Mr. Sarrasin" from Saint-Gabriel-de-Brandon.¹ Later, Raphael stopped naming the model in order to give a more encompassing scope to his depictions of rural French Canadian life. He produced variations and replicas of the subject until the end of his career.



LEFT: Marc-Aurèle de Foy Suzor-Coté, *Father Moreau* (*Le Père Moreau*), 1921, charcoal on paper glued to cardboard, 41.4 x 30.1 cm, Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec, Quebec City. RIGHT: Cornelius Krieghoff, *The Smoker* (*Le Fumeur*), c.1855–60, oil on canvas, 28.8 x 26.3 cm, Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec, Quebec City.

The bearded man in *Habitant* (or *Preparing to Smoke*), painted between 1872 and 1910, is shown in a rustic setting, his face in profile, holding a pipe in his hands. There are no protruding red noses or toothless mouths, as in some of Krieghoff's paintings, to provoke humour; Raphael's habitant is portrayed in a solemn—even pensive—attitude. He is dressed in traditional winter garb: a hood fastened with a long red sash, a blue tuque, and moccasins. He's seated on a simple wooden chair; on the floor is a dark brown spittoon, for chewing tobacco, on a pink catalogue (or woven carpet) with burgundy-red, straw-



yellow, green, and pale-pink stripes.² Next to the man is a large double-decker wood stove decorated with reliefs.³ Massive and low, it also features a round opening at the bottom (for adjusting the air draft), allowing a glimpse of the bright fire within. On top are a kettle and a metal saucepan. The latter, despite its lid, lets out a few clouds of steam. The decor is limited to a wall shelf on the left and a narrow hanging sheet on the right. The man is motionless; the artist has focused on his clothes and surroundings.

This type of work, although sober, was very popular with collectors of the period.⁴ In 1880, for example, the Marquess of Lorne (1845-1914), then governor general of Canada, purchased one of Raphael's paintings of a habitant.⁵ In 1882, that composition was made into an engraving by C.J. Wardell and inserted in the book *Picturesque Canada*, as the frontispiece to the chapter entitled "French-Canadian Life and Character."⁶ By appearing in this important work, the image thus becomes the emblematic figure of French-speaking Quebec. The habitant, as described by the book's author, George Monro Grant, is a farmer attached to conservative, traditional values and a "hard worker" smoking "the evil-smelling native tobacco."⁷

INDIAN ENCAMPMENT ON THE LOWER ST. LAWRENCE, 1879



William Raphael, *Indian Encampment on the Lower St. Lawrence*, 1879

Oil on canvas, 61.3 x 107 cm

National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa

In the winter of 1879, William Raphael painted a landscape of the Charlevoix region showing the impressive Cap-Blanc cliff at Murray Bay (La Malbaie) and the St. Lawrence River, all under a moonlit sky. The work admirably displays Raphael's mastery of landscape painting, which is perhaps what prompted him to submit it as his reception piece in 1880 to the newly founded Canadian Academy of Arts (renamed the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts in 1882).

This dark, mysterious landscape is a fine demonstration of the artist's understanding of various light sources. The fire in one of the teepees illuminates the scene with a few reddish flashes and attracts the viewer's attention. In the distance, the faint beam from a lighthouse shines out to sea. The St. Lawrence flows through the right-hand side

of the painting, overhung by heavy clouds whose contours are illuminated by the moon. Its silvery light also manages to pierce a gap to reach the waves below. For this composition, Raphael drew on sketches he had made on location the previous summer, as well as on a number of earlier paintings, such



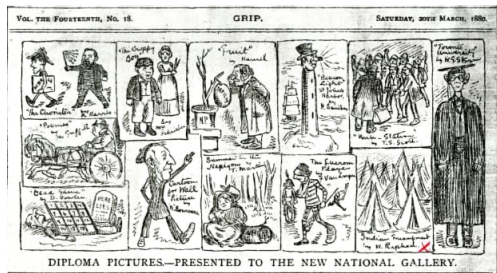
LEFT: William Raphael, *Murray Bay*, July 30, 1878, graphite on wove paper, 9.4 x 14.6 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. RIGHT: William Raphael, *Encampment by the River*, 1871, oil on canvas, 27.9 x 41.9 cm, private collection.



as *Encampment by the River*, 1871, which also depicted an Indigenous people's camp.

Raphael exhibited *Indian Encampment on the Lower St. Lawrence Estuary* at the seventh annual exhibition of the Ontario Society of Artists in May 1879. The *Globe* newspaper described it as the artist's most successful work at the event.¹ Then, in March 1880, the painting was displayed at the first exhibition of the Canadian Academy of Arts, held at Ottawa's Clarendon Hotel, and subsequently submitted to the institution, completing Raphael's bid to obtain full membership.² The painting thus became one of the first pieces in the Canadian national collection (soon to form the core of the National Gallery of Canada collection). Given the academy's preference for landscapes, it was no accident that Raphael opted for this painting of a dramatic night scene.³ The work is tinged with a late Romanticism that is uncommon in the artist's output but that animated the works of many of his contemporaries.

But the painting was not universally admired. In the March 20 issue of the satirical newspaper *Grip*, it was included in a set entitled "Diploma Pictures—Presented to the New National Gallery," which caricatured the reception pieces submitted to the academy. Raphael's composition is reduced to a pile of tepees invading the entire surface of the work. Contrary to the caricaturist's vision, the Indigenous encampment is far less prominent in the original image: the dark silhouette of Cap-Blanc set against the blue sky attracts much more attention, as do the reflections of moonlight. Raphael also departs from the stereotypical cartoonish idea of tepees and takes care to offer a realistic representation of Indigenous dwellings, including a squat-looking hut built of bark and wood. With its sloping roof, this hut corresponds in every respect to the dwellings photographed on the site by the Livernois studio around 1873.



LEFT: Artist unknown, *Diploma Pictures—Presented to the New National Gallery*, 1880, caricature published in *Grip* 14, no. 18 (March 20, 1880). RIGHT: Livernois Studio, *Aboriginal Bark Huts and Basket Maker*, Murray Bay, QC, c.1873, albumen process, 15.3 x 20.3 cm, McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal.



DR. RODDICK'S REMARKABLE CASE OF FAVUS, SHOWING THE
DISTRIBUTION OF THE SCABS AND THE EXTENT OF THE ERUPTION ON
THE BODY, 1880

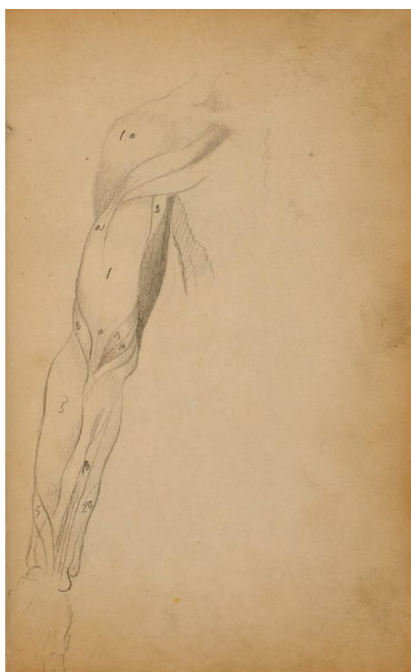


John Henry Walker, after William Raphael, *Dr. Roddick's Remarkable Case of Favus, Showing the Distribution of the Scabs and the Extent of the Eruption on the Body*, 1880
Ink on paper, 23.9 x 14 cm
McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal

During the 1870s and 1880s, William Raphael received various commissions from a young physician named William Osler, who had become a professor at McGill University in 1875 and would go on to be one of the most important figures in Canadian medical history.¹ These commissions—drawings of pathologies intended to illustrate the doctor's research and writings—were nothing like Raphael's usual subjects. *Dr. Roddick's Remarkable Case of Favus, Showing the Distribution of the Scabs and the Extent of the Eruption on the Body* exemplifies his rigour in anatomical representation.

To create these images, Raphael relied as much on a long artistic tradition of anatomical study as he did the collaboration of medical experts.² Indeed, during his training in Berlin, he had already acquired detailed knowledge of the human body. The academic approach required students to draw the particularities of the flesh, as well as meticulously examine the body's interior organs and structures. It was even customary to draw skinned cadavers so as to be able to recognize the various muscles and better capture their details.³

These journeys into medical illustration were also reflected in sketches from Raphael's student years, when he sometimes drew fragments of flayed bodies. When Osler called upon his talents, Raphael was probably not entirely taken aback by the types of images the doctor wanted. Although the commission was far removed from the quest for beauty that preoccupies many artists, and contact with death and disease can obviously trouble anyone, Raphael proved to be skilled at anatomical draughtsmanship. He was careful to spare no detail, while taking the most objective, dispassionate approach possible.



LEFT: William Raphael, *Anatomy Study of Arm Muscles*, 1853–56, graphite on wove paper, 16.8 x 10.5 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. RIGHT: John Henry Walker, after William Raphael, *Dr. Roddick's Case of Occipital Meningocele*, 1880, ink on paper, 23.9 x 14.2 cm, McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal.



Osler's appreciation of Raphael's work was so great that the doctor even called on the artist from abroad. In 1884, Osler became a professor of medicine at the University of Pennsylvania and began to entrust Raphael with tasks from a distance, noting in one letter that "there is nobody here who can do such fine anatomical work."⁴

Raphael's commissions for Dr. Osler included three plates that appeared in the book *Montreal General Hospital: Reports Clinical and Pathological*, published in 1880 by Dawson Brothers, a well-known local firm. In this book, edited by Osler, Raphael's work was reproduced by John Henry Walker (1831-1899), an engraver renowned for his preference for xylography (woodcut printing) and his numerous contributions to Montreal newspapers.⁵ Plate III features two figures illustrating "Atresia of pulmonary artery, with patent Ductus Arteriosus" and "Ductus Arteriosus and Arch of Aorta in case of General Dropsy of Foetus." Plate VII features two figures associated with "Dr. Roddick's Case of Occipital Meningocele." And plate VIII is the image above, showing a child suffering from an infectious skin disease called favus, a type of ringworm.

The posture of the child, who is seen naked and from the side, reveals the extent of the disease eating away at his skin. At the same time, the pose, with legs apart and left arm raised, is reminiscent of that expected of live models during workshop sessions. Indeed, it was common practice at the time to simulate body movements during poses, as depicted in a drawing by Raphael created in Berlin, *Boy Standing in Profile*, 1854.⁶ The result is a singular image that, for all its interest, did not find a home in Raphael's painted work; rather, it rested within the pages of Osler's book, to be seen only by those eager to develop their medical knowledge.

SAWMILL AND HYDRAULIC DAM, 1889



William Raphael, *Sawmill and Hydraulic Dam*, 1889
Oil on canvas, 30.5 x 40.6 cm
Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal

William Raphael was not blind to the changes wrought by humans on the world around them. In his landscapes, the painter, a lover of the outdoors, explored themes closely associated with the exploitation of natural resources. Locks, dams, and mines were often present in his paintings, as seen in *Sawmill and Hydraulic Dam* from 1889. This piece captures not only the industrial development of the province but also its growing appeal to tourists. Cruises were becoming increasingly popular in Quebec, making it possible for visitors to discover the sawmills on the Saint-Maurice and Saguenay Rivers. Industry and tourism became linked as more people explored the landscapes of the province.¹

With *Sawmill and Hydraulic Dam*, Raphael captured a fresh and realistic scene. Planks of wood pile up below the mill, while in the foreground, three logs have been spared. Torrents of water pour out of the dam next to the grey mill, with the white eddies giving way to clear water that breaks against a few rocks in the

current. In the background, two other grey buildings blend into the landscape between lush green trees.

The painting's strong sketchy character—reminiscent of smaller works on paper, such as *Dam on the St. Charles River*, 1874—reveals Raphael's speed of execution. Working in situ, he used very diluted paint to render the bank in the foreground. He then drew several lines to highlight the rectangular shape of the planks, the fineness of which contrasts with the highly textured sky, which was probably executed with a knife. The grain of the canvas can be seen in the texture of the clouds, and the entire surface is marked by the artist's omnipresent brushstrokes, which are particularly pronounced in the trees.

This work may have led to a larger finished painting produced in the studio, as suggested by two pieces exhibited at salons in the following years. In 1891, Raphael presented a work entitled *The Mill* at a Royal Canadian Academy of Arts salon held in Toronto.² And three years later, the Art Association of Montreal exhibited a work called *The Mill Dam*, whose "details are carefully manipulated,"³ according to the critic of the *Daily Witness* newspaper. Although these last two paintings cannot be located at present, they are a reminder that the subject sketched in 1889 deserved, in the artist's opinion, to be developed further.



William Raphael, *Dam on the St. Charles River*, August 11, 1874, oil on cardboard, 36 x 29.4 cm, Musée de Lachine, Montreal.

WITH THE CURRENT, 1892



William Raphael, *With the Current*, 1892
Oil on canvas, 40.8 x 63.5 cm
Montreal Museum of Fine Arts

With the Current reflects William Raphael's love of the outdoors—a passion he pursued throughout his career. Floating gently on the waves, two people revel in the sunshine and the tranquillity of a red canoe. They sit back to back, the woman fly fishing while the man, cigarette in mouth, reads his newspaper. Their posture and the colour of their clothes—one in white sitting upright, the other in black and semi-reclined—provide contrast, as do the woman's elegant hat and the man's simple yarmulke, a reference to his Jewish heritage. The bright red of the boat also stands out against the verdant landscape. These differences are echoed in the artist's pictorial approach: the canvas shows a range of brushstrokes, from the most sustained academic technique in the treatment of the two figures to the heavy, visible brushstrokes that build up the background. Despite these dissimilarities, the work as a whole is harmonious. The peaceful, even intimate scene is set against a natural backdrop, with the expanse of dark water in the foreground doubling the couple's image in a stunningly rendered reflection.



LEFT: William Raphael, *The Boating Party*, 1876, oil on canvas, 33.2 x 52.4 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. RIGHT: William Raphael, *Throwing the Bait, River St. Charles, Quebec*, 1895, oil on canvas, 43.2 x 68.6 cm, private collection.

Raphael travelled extensively in the summer months. He came back from each trip with several drawings in his sketchbooks and many pochades (quick sketches), which would later prove invaluable in his work. During the summers of 1891 and 1892, the artist visited Richmond and Otterburn Park, both in Quebec, as well as Long Island and Norfolk in the United States. Along the way, he collected details of trees and water features—all motifs that could be put to good use in future paintings produced in his studio.

Before he painted *With the Current*, Raphael had already tackled the subject of people on a canoe trip several times, including in *The Boating Party*, 1876, and in a sketch made at Sainte-Rose in 1884. In these works, however, the figures are merely details intended to enhance the landscape by amplifying its scale. In *With the Current*, Raphael reversed the formula: nature lost its primacy and became a setting for the true subjects of the work, a man and woman captured in a moment of serenity. Drawing on landscapes he had visited many times, Raphael creates an intimate composition, closing off the background with dense, dark vegetation. In this way, he manages not only to focus attention on the duo but also to cut them off from the world, leaving them alone in this suspended moment.

Apparently pleased with this work, Raphael produced a variant, *Throwing the Bait, River St. Charles, Quebec*, in 1895. In this later version, the mountains in the background are bathed in a bluish light. The boaters, alone in their own world, are a poignant metaphor for Raphael's late-career period, when he withdrew from the art world in search of calmness in both his life and his subjects.



SIGNIFICANCE & CRITICAL ISSUES

William Raphael brought a distinctive vision to his adopted home of Montreal, capturing its people and landscapes with remarkable sensitivity. As the first Jewish artist to build a professional career in Canada, he formed deep connections within his community while also moving through broader cultural circles, including the Freemasons. A key figure in the development of genre painting in Canada, Raphael used everyday scenes to reflect the country's evolving identity. But his prominence as an artist and teacher clashed with shifting aesthetic tastes in Montreal's top art institutions. Coupled with a rising tide of anti-Semitism in the late nineteenth century, these tensions contributed

to obscuring Raphael's legacy—despite his pivotal role in shaping Canadian art.

CANADA'S FIRST JEWISH ARTIST

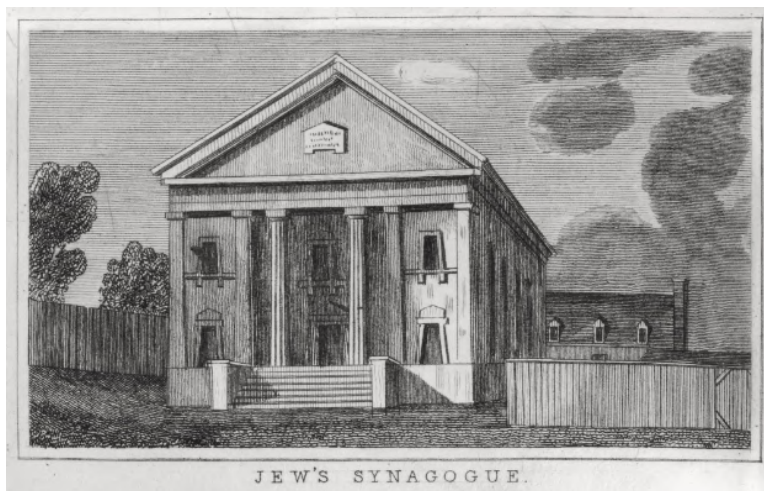
In the first half of the nineteenth century, a population boom in the Prussian Empire led to a vast wave of emigration between 1845 and 1858.¹ William Raphael was one of many Prussians to leave their homeland in search of a better future and fresh opportunities elsewhere. North America was attractive to many Europeans thinking of emigrating. German-language newspapers of the time described the United States and Canada as civilized places with great potential for economic development and a strong emphasis on rights and freedoms.² The United States was a popular destination for immigrants, but Raphael was one of the few members of the Prussian community who chose to build a new life in British North America.³ Arriving in Montreal in 1857, he was the first Jewish artist to immigrate to Canada.⁴ His Judaism, however, would not be without impact on his career and his work.

Raised in an Orthodox Jewish household in Nakel, Prussia, Raphael produced a number of sketches over the course of his life that reflected his religious upbringing. In October 1856, for example, he drew a figure wearing the tefillin, a small square box containing passages from the Torah.⁵ In 1880, years after his arrival in Canada, he painted *Portrait of Wolf Rafalsky*, c.1880, an image of his father as an austere-looking old man dressed in black, with a beard, curly sideburns, and a yarmulke.

Raphael came of age in an era of greater religious freedom. In fact, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Prussia passed a number of laws to allow for the emancipation of the Jews and grant them equal rights. When he left Nakel for Berlin at the age of eighteen, Raphael discovered a city marked by these transformations. They carried with them the possibility of a regenerated society and of the potential integration "of the Jewish population with the non-Jewish majority in all domains with the exception of religious life."⁶ The mid-nineteenth century was also characterized by a reform movement in Judaism that increasingly guided new generations. Many younger Jews distanced themselves from the age-old traditions that had weighed heavily on the way of life in the past. These cultural changes shaped Raphael's relationship with religion and society throughout his adult life, and in part enabled him to pursue a career as an artist.



William Raphael, *Portrait of Wolf Rafalsky*, c.1880, oil on canvas, 45.1 x 36.8 cm, collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal.



LEFT: James Duncan, *Jew's Synagogue*, 1839, etching, 17.6 x 10.5 cm, McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal. RIGHT: Antique wooden ark in the sanctuary at the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, Montreal, 2018, photograph by Dave Sidaway / *Montreal Gazette*.

In North America, Raphael was part of a new environment, less influenced by religion. Still, his early interactions with Montreal society were initially with his fellow Jewish citizens. On his arrival in the Province of Canada, he joined the city's only synagogue, the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, which followed the Orthodox tradition.⁷ In 1862, his marriage was celebrated by Rabbi Abraham de Sola,⁸ whose portrait Raphael painted on two occasions.⁹ In the early years of his career, he also made several portraits for members of his community—notably *Portrait of an Orthodox Jew, Montreal*, 1861. Much later, he completed his *Portrait of Aaron Hart David, M.D.*, 1882.¹⁰

But Raphael did not limit himself to this market alone, nor did he rely solely on the support of his fellow Jews, if only for reasons of economic survival. According to the census, Montreal had a Jewish population of only 181 people in 1851 and 403 in 1861. In the years that followed, this population remained stagnant, with the number barely reaching 409 in 1871.¹¹ Given this demographic reality, Raphael could not afford to isolate himself, and like his Jewish compatriots, he worked hard to forge links with many people, regardless of their religious affiliation.

By the 1850s and 1860s, he was well integrated into Canadian society. His faith was never mentioned in the newspapers and didn't seem to have the slightest bearing on people's assessment of



William Raphael, *Portrait of an Orthodox Jew*, 1861, graphite on paper, 17.8 x 15.2 cm, collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal.

his skills. He also worked hard to separate his professional life from his religious identity, which he expressed only in private settings. As art historians Loren Lerner and Suzanne Rackover note: "Although active in Montreal's fledgling Jewish community and identified as the first Jewish artist in Canada, Raphael did not produce Jewish-themed art. Rather, he integrated himself into the city's art scene in both subject matter and style."¹²



Illustrated postcard of Baron de Hirsch School and Institute, Montreal, c.1903-6, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, Montreal. In 1890, the institute was located at 7 rue Sainte-Élizabeth. It moved to a new building on rue de Bleury (pictured above) in 1902.

From the 1880s onwards, however, the artist became more overt about his involvement with the Montreal Jewish community. He also made sure to use his art in activities that supported the Jewish people. For example, in 1882, Raphael donated one of his paintings to a fundraising event dedicated to the construction of the new Temple Emanu-El, which promoted Reform Judaism.¹³ In 1892, he also financially supported the Baron de Hirsch Institute, which took in many Jewish migrants, especially Russians and Romanians fleeing persecution in their home countries.¹⁴ Three years later, an article published in the *Gazette* reported on Raphael's life-size portrait of Julius Schermann, which was unveiled during a major ceremony.¹⁵ The work helped to highlight the exceptional efforts of his sitter, who for twelve years served on the board of directors of the Baron de Hirsch Institute and also devoted himself to helping the community's poor as vice-president of the Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society.¹⁶

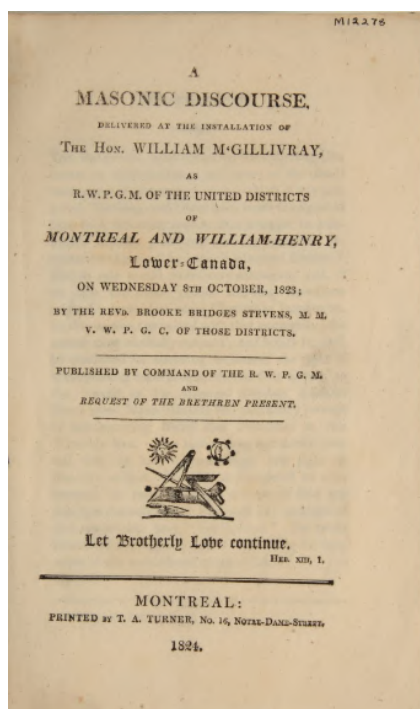
Despite his increasing public involvement in the Jewish community in the late 1800s, Raphael still did not generally incorporate elements of his religious

identity into his works made for the Montreal market, particularly his genre scenes. One notable exception, though, can be found in *With the Current*, 1892. In that piece, the male figure is dressed in black and wears a yarmulke, leaving no doubt as to his Jewish faith.

CANADIAN FREEMASONRY

When William Raphael settled in Montreal in 1857, he integrated into his new environment with the help of his connections in the Jewish community, but he also called on his various other social circles, including the Freemasons. Established in Canada in the eighteenth century, the Masons expanded quickly in the years after the first provincial lodge was set up by the British following the capture of Quebec in 1759.¹⁷ As indicated in the *Freemason's Manual*, written by Thomas Sargent and published in Toronto in 1880, members viewed the fraternal order as "a moral institution, established by virtuous men with the praiseworthy design of recalling to our remembrance the most sublime TRUTHS, in the midst of the most innocent and social pleasures,—founded on LIBERALITY, LOVE and CHARITY."¹⁸

But as the history of Freemasonry shows, not everyone was convinced of these good intentions. Indeed, because of its initiation practices and its secret rituals, as well as the fact that it welcomes members of different faiths, Freemasonry has been condemned in various countries and has especially attracted the wrath of the Catholic Church.¹⁹ As early as 1738, Pope Clement XII, who viewed Masons as heretics and occultists, prohibited Catholics from joining the order.²⁰ In England and Scotland, on the other hand, Freemasonry was well established and accepted. It experienced an entirely different kind of development in Britain, and eventually in Canada as well. Despite the watchful eye of the Church, new members were recruited year after year and encouraged to take part in the society's meetings.



LEFT: Frontispiece of *A Masonic Discourse Delivered at the Installation of the Hon. William McGillivray* (Montreal: Thomas Andrew Turner, 1824). RIGHT: Notman & Sandham, after James Weston, *Prince Consort and Freemasons Group*, 1877, 1877, composite photograph, silver salts on paper mounted on paper, 20.3 x 25.4 cm, McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal.

Raphael was introduced to the Masonic movement by his father-in-law, Hermann Danziger, shortly after his marriage. On March 15, 1864, Danziger nominated his son-in-law for membership, and on April 19, Raphael became a first-degree Freemason.²¹ A month later, on May 17, he wrote in his sketchbook that he was “very excited” because he had gone “that evening to the lodge where [he] received [his] second degree as freemason,”²² thus passing from apprentice to companion and vowing to keep his activities secret. As the society is renowned for its discretion, Raphael left few written clues as to his role within it. But it’s worth wondering what he might have gained from such a membership.

Of course, Raphael was not the only Canadian artist to join the order. In Quebec, Freemasonry was sometimes looked upon with suspicion, particularly among Catholics,²³ but nonetheless, some artists—such as François Beaucourt (1740–1794) and Ludger Larose (1868–1915)²⁴—were members. Larose was even appointed Master of the only exclusively French-speaking Masonic lodge in Canada, Montreal’s Loge des Coeurs-Unis, founded in 1870.

From the outset, the society sought to bring together “educated, active, ambitious men,”²⁵ holding prestigious positions in civil society and with a taste for the sciences and liberal arts. In Raphael’s case, Freemasonry’s openness to all religious denominations—including Judaism²⁶—allowed him to make contact more easily with many of Montreal’s most wealthy and influential figures. In this way, the society offered him an opportunity to penetrate a cultured and stimulating environment and build a network with international scope.

The Masons of Montreal also sponsored a variety of works. For example, Raphael’s contemporary, engraver John Henry Walker (1831–1899), was commissioned to make a portrait of Thomas Douglas Harington, the First Grand Principal of the Grand Chapter of Masons of the Royal Arch of Canada. And in 1865, William Notman (1826–1891) photographed Grand Master William B. Simpson wearing the apron of the Brother Masons. That portrait was commissioned by the Grand Lodge of Ancient and Accepted Masons of Canada, and they recorded the expense in their proceedings.²⁷ Notman and Henry Sandham (1842–1910) also produced a composite image, *Prince Consort and Freemasons Group*, from photographs taken by James Weston (1841–1922) in 1877. Although he died in 1861, Prince Albert, Queen Victoria’s husband, is seated in the front row, at the centre of the composition, in a lodge crowded with brother Masons. The work thus highlights the important networks that connected the secret society and the spheres of



LEFT: John Henry Walker, *Thomas Douglas Harington*, 1850–85, ink on paper, relief print, 23.7 x 15.4 cm, McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal. RIGHT: William Notman, *W.B. Simpson*, Montreal, QC, 1865, 1865, silver halide on paper mounted on paper, 8.5 x 5.6 cm, McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal.



power in the nineteenth century.

For Raphael, Masonry afforded the opportunity to develop social networks that undoubtedly played a role in his professional rise and allowed him to win certain artistic commissions. For example, in the 1870s, he offered his services to a prominent member of the brotherhood and created a portrait of Jeremiah Wright Wilson, the Grand Master of Iowa. Wilson is shown with a tie pin decorated with a gold square and compass on a black background, the most recognizable Masonic motif. In 1908, towards the end of his career, Raphael made a copy of a portrait of William McGillivray, the director of the North West Company and a prominent Freemason, at the request of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal.²⁸ Although it is difficult today to establish the number of pieces made by Raphael for his fellow Freemasons, the fact remains that his membership helped him forge relationships with the intellectual and cultural elites of the time.



LEFT: William Raphael, *Portrait of Jeremiah Wright Wilson*, 1878, oil on canvas, 59 x 48 cm, Galerie de l'Université de Montréal. RIGHT: William Raphael, *Portrait of William McGillivray*, 1908, oil on canvas, 77 x 61.3 cm, Château Ramezay, Montreal.

A DECLINE IN STATUS

By the early 1880s, William Raphael was a major figure on the Montreal and Canadian art scene. Appointed one of the first professors of the Art Association of Montreal (AAM), he was also one of the earliest members of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts (RCA). Some of his works even appeared in prestigious publications, including the book *Picturesque Canada*, published in 1882. This recognition quickly faded, however. In the space of just a few years, Raphael lost his teaching contracts at the AAM (in 1883), failed to obtain financial support from the Royal Canadian Academy despite repeated requests (as early as 1884), and above all, found himself at the centre of a controversy sparked by the Art Association of Montreal (in 1886).

Raphael's decline in status coincided with significant changes in his social circles. Indeed, the painter lost two major supporters in 1882 and 1883. Henry Sandham, a close friend and member of the AAM, left Canada for the United States at the end of 1882,²⁹ and the Marquess of Lorne, who had bought one of Raphael's works for his personal collection, finished his term as governor general in 1883 and left Canada to take up new duties elsewhere in the British Empire.³⁰ The departure of these allies happened alongside the rise of a new generation of artists and educators, led by painters Robert Harris (1849-1919) and William Brymner (1855-1925). Because of their recent training in Paris, these artists were said to be invigorating Montreal's cultural scene. Though he had worked in Canada for more than twenty years, Raphael was soon seen as part of the old guard, which was slowly being relegated to the background. He often found himself at odds with Harris and Brymner as significant tensions began to form.



William Raphael in his studio, Montreal, c.1905, photographer unknown, collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal.

In 1883, Robert Harris moved to Montreal and became a professor at the AAM's art school.³¹ Raphael, who had been active in art education for many years and had taught the first courses at the AAM, was passed over in favour of him. A rivalry ensued as Raphael began offering courses in his own studio. Newspapers played their part by reporting on the number of students attending each artist's classes and critiquing their works on display. When Harris decided to leave his position at the AAM, he supported the candidacy of his friend William Brymner. Brymner, who took over from Harris in 1885, also had to contend with the success of Raphael's studio, which had moved the previous year to a space just

a few steps from the Art Association. From then on, Brymner never hesitated to use his influence with the RCA to block Raphael's requests for financial support.³²

In this tense climate, the AAM even openly attacked Raphael. In 1886, the *Gazette* reported a discussion about the painter between William Townley Benson, one of Raphael's pupils, and the secretary of the Art Association of Montreal, a Mr. English. The conversation went like this:

"Raphael, being a teacher, cannot be expected to paint, besides he never had any education except what he got in Notman's studio, painting photographs. All the pictures which he has sent to the gallery for the last few years have been failures." When pressed as to whether Raphael ever studied in Europe, he [Mr. English] replied, "Oh yes, I believe he did, for a few months in Düsseldorf, the worst school, the worst school in Europe."

I [Benson] said Raphael studied in Berlin, at the Academy. "Berlin was it?" said he, "well, it is six of one and half a dozen of the other." Much more was said in the same strain, but the foregoing is sufficient for the purpose.³³



Art Association of Montreal sculpture room showing plaster copies of antique statues such as the *Venus de Milo*, the *Apollo Belvedere*, and the *Laocoön group*, which students were asked to draw, published in the *Standard*, November 18, 1905, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts archives.

Apart from the mockery, the secretary of the AAM had shamefully belittled Raphael's training, as well as his work. Efforts to discredit Raphael were persistent and long-lasting. At the beginning of the following century, in 1904, the *Daily Witness* devoted a long article to the history of the AAM school in which Raphael was only briefly mentioned. The text states that in 1881, "an experimental series of advanced art classes was established under the supervision of a committee, taught by Mr. Raphael, Mr. Edson, Mr. Van Luppen."³⁴ In other words, in the official narrative of this aspect of art history, Raphael is barely named and his pioneering work as a teacher is framed as an experiment under the supervision of a committee. The journalist never explains why these three men were not asked back to teach at the institution. Instead, he gives all the credit for setting up the school to Robert Harris and, above all, William Brymner.

FACING THE RISE OF ANTI-SEMITISM

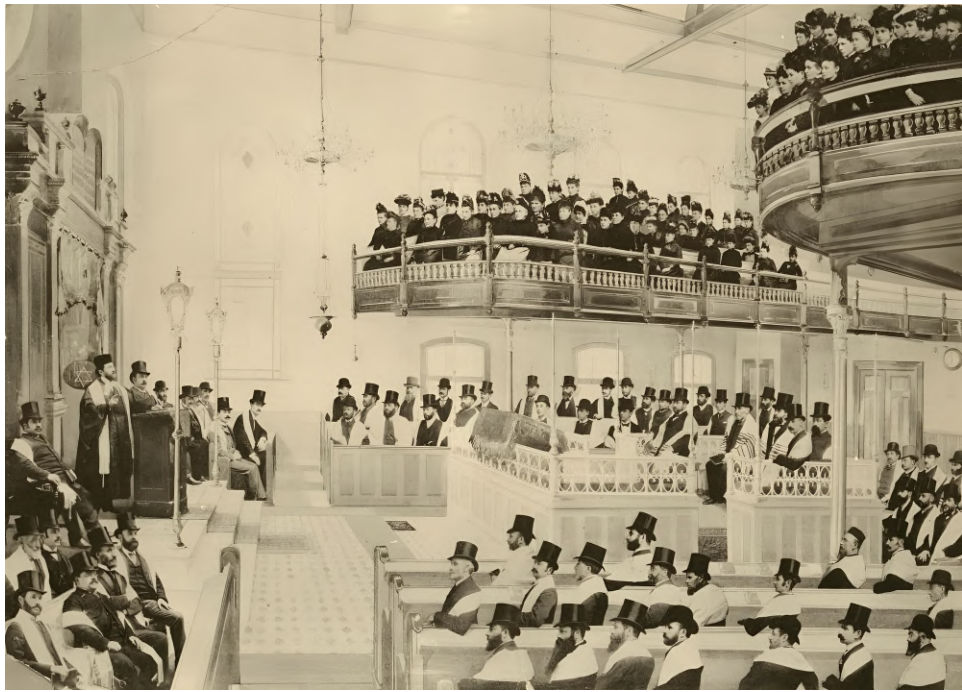
William Raphael's loss of influence in the early 1880s may not have been entirely due to artistic issues and struggles for prestige among various players. Prejudice

may also have played a role in sidelining the artist.³⁵ The climate in Canada was coloured by world events. In Russia, the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881 by a revolutionary group called the Will of the People ushered in a new period of anti-Jewish sentiment.³⁶ The murder, falsely attributed to Jewish terrorists, led to waves of violence (pogroms) and the introduction of discriminatory laws.³⁷ The Jews of the Russian Empire fled in droves—more than two million of them were forced into exile.³⁸

Canada welcomed such a large number of refugees that its Jewish

population jumped from 2,443 in 1881 to 6,501 in 1891.³⁹ In Montreal, the increase was particularly noticeable, with the population of Jewish people rising from 814 to 2,473 over the same ten-year period.⁴⁰ And the numbers continued to grow. In the Canadian census of 1901, 16,401 Jewish people lived in Canada, nearly 40 percent of them in Montreal.⁴¹ The massive influx of Jews from Russia and Romania in the last twenty years of the nineteenth century changed the spiritual landscape of the city, which until then had been home to a small Jewish community adapted to the British colonial way of life. The community is reflected in a composite photograph showing worshippers at the English, German, and Polish synagogue on McGill College Avenue, a temple belonging to one of Canada's oldest Jewish congregations (the Shaar Hashomayim congregation, founded in Montreal in 1846). In this bright and airy space, the male members wear top hats and sport moustaches and beards in the style of the time.

The massive migration of Jewish people in the 1880s also corresponded to the resurgence of prejudices on an international scale, which in turn undermined their integration into Canada. This situation was exploited by people like the British Canadian historian and journalist Goldwin Smith, who had been a professor at Oxford and Cornell University before he settled in Toronto in 1871, and thus enjoyed a high status in intellectual circles. Smith disparaged Jews as an unpatriotic, inward-looking people who were corrupting the greatness of a country that should, first and foremost, embody Anglo-Saxon values.⁴² He constantly advanced the view that the growing numbers of Jews in North America threatened the Anglo-Saxon way of life and Canada's religious equilibrium.



Rogers Arnott & Sauer, *Interior of English, German, and Polish Synagogue on McGill College Avenue*, 1890, composite photograph, 24.6 x 18.7 cm, Congregation Shaar Hashomayim Museum and Archives, Montreal.



LEFT: Wm. Notman & Son, *Shaar Hashomayim Synagogue*, 59 McGill College Avenue, Montreal, QC, about 1910-11, 1910-11, silver salts on glass, gelatin dry plate process, 25.4 x 20.3 cm, McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal. RIGHT: William Raphael, *Portrait of an Orthodox Jew Smoking*, 1861, oil on canvas, 31.1 x 26 cm, collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal.

As early as 1878, Smith was publishing anti-Semitic articles and giving speeches in both Canada and the United States in support of his point of view.⁴³ By 1891, he was describing the Jewish people as a parasitic race.⁴⁴ According to Smith, who cloaked his bigotry in academic language, all Jews, no matter where they were born—Russia, England, or the United States—possessed the same so-called racial characteristics, regardless of their social or intellectual abilities.⁴⁵ Although his ideas were criticized by some, they nonetheless found an audience in Canada during this time of increasing prejudice and discrimination.⁴⁶

This rhetoric undoubtedly affected William Raphael. He saw the religious and racial tolerance that had allowed him to lead a fairly serene life in Canada collapsing before his eyes. Seemingly overnight, he could no longer count on the same benevolent support from the Canadian cultural community. Smith's screeds about the threats to Anglo-Saxon superiority were reflected in Raphael's loss of his teaching position at the Art Association of Montreal (AAM). Indeed, in 1882, the institution decided that its courses would be organized in accordance with the British model, which the AAM's board of directors considered to be the best in the world. Attempts were even made to recruit a London-based teacher, without success.⁴⁷ In the end, the institution came to favour English-speaking painters with undeniable British roots.



William Raphael, *Self-Portrait of the Artist*, c.1885, oil on canvas, 61 x 50.8 cm, collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal.

Against this backdrop arose a “genteel” anti-Semitism, to use the term proposed by historian Alan Mendelson.⁴⁸ As he demonstrates in his book *Exiles from Nowhere*, this form of anti-Semitism was adopted by some members of Canada’s English-speaking elite, whose notions of decorum and “gentlemanliness” encouraged a subtle racism over more brutal gestures.⁴⁹ This led many Jews to quietly withdraw from their wider social and cultural circles. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, imperialist thinking, racial animus, and anti-Semitism found a place in Victorian society.

The words and actions of people like Goldwin Smith meant that a Jewish painter like Raphael was not as welcome as before.⁵⁰ His religious identity overshadowed his artistic abilities, which no longer seemed to be considered objectively. He was forced to give up the fight for public recognition. During the last three decades of his life, the climate was simply not favourable.

A TEACHER OF ART

Raphael's significant contributions to the history of art in Canada are especially reflected in his involvement in art education. In the 1860s, he taught classes in his own studio, at a time when Montreal had no art schools. He also started teaching art to the Sisters of Sainte-Anne in 1879, and to the nuns of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame around 1883.⁵¹ He was further instrumental in establishing the drawing and painting curriculum at the Art Association of Montreal's art school, and he held positions at the Montreal Society of Decorative Art (in 1881 and between 1883 and 1884), Mrs. Lovell's Educational Institute (in 1884), and the Eliock School (in 1893).⁵² In 1896, he also began offering classes at the Art Building in Sherbrooke.⁵³



Advertisement for William Raphael's classes, published in the *Montreal Star* in 1884. "W. Raphael's Classes," *Montreal Star*, September 16, 1884, page 1.

Through these avenues, Raphael reached an incalculable number of students over the course of four decades, contributing as much to cultivating a taste for the arts in society as to the training of future artists. This considerable contribution helped to increase the number of art lovers, collectors, and supporters of artistic production in Montreal. Raphael's efforts also nourished the city's cultural life and fostered a better understanding of art among those who lived there.

Raphael favoured a teaching method that largely duplicated the academic model he'd learned from during his training in Berlin. In 1887, the *Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette*, in a report on an exhibition of work by his pupils, described the exhibition room,⁵⁴ giving some insight into his approach:

[T]he walls are covered with drawings in crayon and charcoal, works by the pupils, consisting of studies from living models, statuary, busts and masks. Particularly fine are the charcoal sketches from life. The various phases of art are here exhibited from the sketches of hands, feet, eyes, etc.⁵⁵

The description illustrates that drawing was the preferred method of artistic instruction, as was the case in the academic system. Pupils began by copying two-dimensional works (engravings, drawings, and paintings by the masters) and then progressed to observing static three-dimensional objects (statues, bas-reliefs), and ultimately moved to drawing from a live model. Each stage allowed for the development of the artist's skill and emphasized composition and tonal variation.



LEFT: Artist unknown, after Leochares, *Apollo Belvedere, Drawing Model*, second half of the nineteenth century, plaster and paint, unknown dimensions, unknown location. RIGHT: Artist unknown, *Right Foot, Drawing Model*, second half of the nineteenth century, plaster, unknown dimensions, unknown location.

For the first stage, copying two-dimensional models, the teacher would show his pupils various examples, including his own work. In fact, some of Raphael's pieces, such as a painting of a hand dated 1858, show small holes in the corners – a sign that they had been pinned up several times to be used as studies.

Raphael also instructed his pupils to draw plaster models from his own collection. Many of these objects were preserved when they were sold in 1910 to the Sisters of Sainte-Anne. Some correspond to ancient figures, such as the bust of the *Apollo Belvedere*. Others show only a fragment of the body, to allow students to practise detail work.⁵⁶

Once his pupils had developed basic skills, Raphael had them do exercises with live models. As he explained to the *Herald* reporter, these sessions were long, since “for the completed picture the models generally have to give four sittings of three hours each”⁵⁷ It's not clear whether models posed nude, as was the custom in the academic system. Given the strong influence of religion in Quebec at the time, it is more likely that they were clothed.

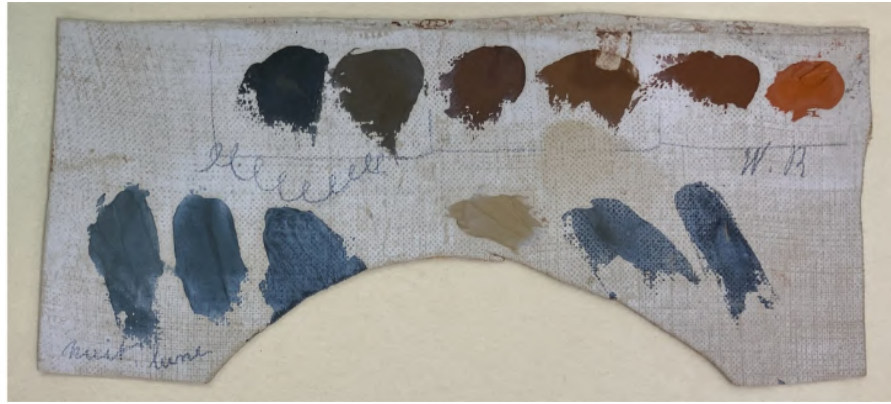
Most of the sitters brought into Raphael's studio were male, and although we don't know their names, some appear across the painter's body of work. Sometime in the mid-1870s, for example, Raphael created a bust-length portrait of a warmly dressed man posed in front of an interior background. The same man appears in *Good News*, a later composition from 1875. In this work, the man stands near a street lamp holding the latest editions of the *Daily Witness*

and the *Evening Star*. Several years later, the model posed again, for a work in which he's shown with aged features, wearing a red tuque and smoking a pipe.⁵⁸

Raphael also taught painting classes, but it's evident from the 1887 *Herald* article that these lessons were designed for his more advanced students.⁵⁹ The two main genres of these classes were landscape and still life. Many of Raphael's pupils created copies of his own compositions in both—one notable example is a landscape painting copied by Sister Marie-Hélène-de-la-Croix (née Élisabeth Martin, 1861-1956) of the Sisters of Sainte-Anne.⁶⁰ A fundamental exercise in the academic system, copying allowed for deeper understanding of technique. This pedagogical approach helped Raphael's students better recognize subtleties in colour harmonies. In his teaching, he used colour palettes as references, and one of these palettes, which bears the words "night" and "moon," corresponds to the range of hues used in his landscapes, including *Moonlight*, 1898.



William Raphael, *Good News*, 1875, oil on canvas laid down on board, 35.6 x 21 cm, collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal.



LEFT: William Raphael, *Moonlight*, 1898, unknown location. RIGHT: William Raphael's painting palette, 1879-1914, Musée de Lachine, Montreal.

Raphael was one of the first teachers in Canada to give outdoor painting classes. He encouraged the direct contemplation of nature and the desire to capture its fleeting effects, and he told his students to "[o]bserve nature carefully, especially the delicate cloud formations and aerial perspectives."⁶¹ In this way, he reminded them to pay attention to the landscape through their encounter with it. The *Herald* article notes that the landscapes on display in the exhibition of his pupils' work were made "from nature"—perhaps a reference to *plein air* painting. This method does appear to have been a component of Raphael's teaching, as evidenced by *A Sketch from Nature*, a scene in which he depicts one of his students during an outdoor painting session at the Black River in 1882.⁶² Ten years later, his pupils at the Sisters of Sainte-Anne noted that they had practised *plein air* painting under Raphael's instruction.⁶³

The *Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette* article also emphasizes Raphael's use of the still life as a teaching tool. He undoubtedly had plaster reproductions of various foods and flowers, as a way of ensuring that these items didn't perish between sessions. Although Raphael didn't produce many still-life compositions in his own practice, some of his depictions of flowers show a familiarity with plaster models. In 1880, the *Gazette* reported that he had just finished several paintings of fish and birds.⁶⁴ *Still Life (Northern Flickers)*, 1885, offers a glimpse into Raphael's skill with the genre: it is a *trompe l'oeil* showing two dead birds suspended by their legs in front of a wooden surface. A composition depicting fish, signed by Sister Marie-Hélène-de-la-Croix, demonstrates how Raphael's still-life paintings could serve as models for his students.



LEFT: William Raphael, *Still Life (Northern Flickers)*, 1885, oil on paper, mounted on pressed paper fibreboard, 46.5 x 31.5 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. RIGHT: Sister Marie-Hélène-de-la-Croix, *Sea Trout (Truites saumonées)*, 1893, oil on canvas, 68.7 x 46 cm, Musée de Lachine, Montreal.

While based on the academic model and its system of progressive learning, Raphael's educational program was rich and varied, incorporating practices inside and outside of the classroom to give pupils direct access to some of the most important methods for studying and creating art during the nineteenth century.

LEGACY

Much of Raphael's significance and importance has not been adequately highlighted to date, with the painter barely mentioned in comprehensive works on the history of art in Canada. Indeed, beyond creating *Behind Bonsecours Market, Montreal*, 1866, the painter played a key role in the nation's cultural life. He opened up creative avenues that proved highly fruitful for the generations of artists who followed him.



William Raphael, *Royal Mail, New Brunswick*, 1861, oil on canvas, 30.5 x 35.6 cm, Beaverbrook Art Gallery, Fredericton.

Raphael played a dynamic role in the artistic community of his time. He was one of the few people in Montreal who saw the value in organizations capable of professionalizing the visual arts, exhibiting works, and training the next generations of artists, and he was a key figure in the founding of both the Art Association of Montreal and the Canadian Academy of Art (later the Royal

Canadian Academy of Arts). He contributed to these organizations in palpable ways by exhibiting his work, teaching their courses, and sitting on their committees. In this way, he bolstered these essential institutions and all they represented for many years.

Perhaps most importantly, Raphael established an artistic practice that had a major impact on the history of Canadian art. Along with his contemporaries Cornelius Krieghoff (1815-1872) and James Duncan (1806-1881), he was one of the first Canadian artists to explore the theme of nordicity, or northernness. Blizzards, hoods, and tuques were part of his repertoire from his very first years in Canada. A case in point is *Royal Mail, New Brunswick*, 1861, which depicts a warmly dressed coachman at the head of a sleigh drawn by four horses on a snowy road. Long before painters like Maurice Cullen (1866-1934) and A.Y. Jackson (1882-1974), he recognized the strong role Canada's northern landscape played in defining the country.



LEFT: Maurice Cullen, *Dominion Square in the Snow, Montreal* (*Le Carré Dominion sous la neige, Montréal*), 1912, oil on canvas, 72 x 59 cm, Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec, Quebec City. RIGHT: Alfred Laliberté, *The Cedar Match*, from the *Trades, Customs and Legends of Yesteryear* series, 1927-31, bronze, 36.7 x 49.6 x 24.3 cm, Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec, Quebec City.

Raphael also showed a great interest in depicting traditional Canadian figures. But unlike Krieghoff, who sometimes turned his subjects into caricatures, Raphael opted for a more realistic representation. As early as the 1870s, he had established an image of the French Canadian habitant: a man wearing a tuque and a woven sash, shown in a modest domestic interior furnished with a hooked rug and a stove. In this moment captured in time, Raphael emphasizes local details and creates a compositional formula that, many years later, would be echoed in the works of Marc-Aurèle de Foy Suzor-Coté (1869-1937) and Alfred Laliberté (1877-1953).



William Raphael, *Habitant*, c.1873-1910, oil on canvas, 35.9 x 28.3 cm, collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal.

Finally, much of the credit for promoting the artistic potential of the Charlevoix region belongs to William Raphael, who painted the area more than thirty years before Clarence Gagnon (1881-1942) popularized it. Since the end of the eighteenth century, the Charlevoix had been captured by the pens and paintbrushes of British military watercolourists such as James Peachey (d.1797) and George Bulteel Fisher (1764-1837), but it was still rarely visited by other



WILLIAM RAPHAEL

Life & Work by Pierre-Olivier Ouellet

artists.⁶⁵ In fact, it wasn't until the middle of the nineteenth century that the region began to attract more painters, including Raphael. In 1869, when the *Quebec Daily Mercury* newspaper interviewed him on his return from a summer trip, he praised the Charlevoix in glowing terms, referring to it as the "Switzerland of Canada."⁶⁶

Following this trip, he completed a painting entitled *Falls of le Trou*, which he exhibited at the second Society of Canadian Artists exhibition, held in early 1870.⁶⁷ He then made further trips to Murray Bay (La Malbaie), notably in 1878 and 1887.⁶⁸ Unlike many Canadian artists of the 1880s, who favoured the landscapes of Western Canada and the Rocky Mountains, Raphael instead discovered an inspiring place, worthy of his greatest creations, in Quebec. The Charlevoix region was so important to him that when he was seeking membership in the newly founded Canadian Academy of Arts in 1880, he chose as his reception piece *Indian Encampment on the Lower St. Lawrence Estuary*, 1879, a majestic landscape depicting Murray Bay. In 1881, he chose another landscape from this same location, *Scene at Murray Bay*, to be reproduced and included in a portfolio compiled by the Art Association of Montreal and distributed to all its members.⁶⁹ In his own way, he helped people see the intrinsic beauty of these sites through an artistic eye.



William Raphael, *Murray Bay Rock in Greenery*, 1878, oil on cardboard, 43 x 30 cm, Musée de Lachine, Montreal.



STYLE & TECHNIQUE

William Raphael was a pioneer in bringing a refined realism to Canadian art, shaped by the Biedermeier tradition he absorbed during his formative years in Berlin. His meticulous attention to detail and commitment to capturing life as it appeared placed him at the forefront of a shift in artistic practice. This emphasis on observational precision dovetailed with the emergence of photography, a medium that was transforming how people perceived and represented the world. Raphael also embraced *plein air* painting, working directly in nature to bring a sense of immediacy and vitality to his landscapes. His compositions often include touches of wit, revealing a personal warmth and underscoring the depth and diversity of his artistic voice.

BRINGING BIEDERMEIER TO CANADA

William Raphael's student years in Berlin were marked by one of the most important artistic currents in the Prussian Empire, the Biedermeier movement,¹ which influenced the visual arts, design, and music. Generally spanning the years between 1815 (the Congress of Vienna) and 1848 (the Springtime of Nations), the Biedermeier period originated in the German-speaking cities of Berlin, Munich, and Vienna, before spreading to Scandinavia and the Russian Empire (notably

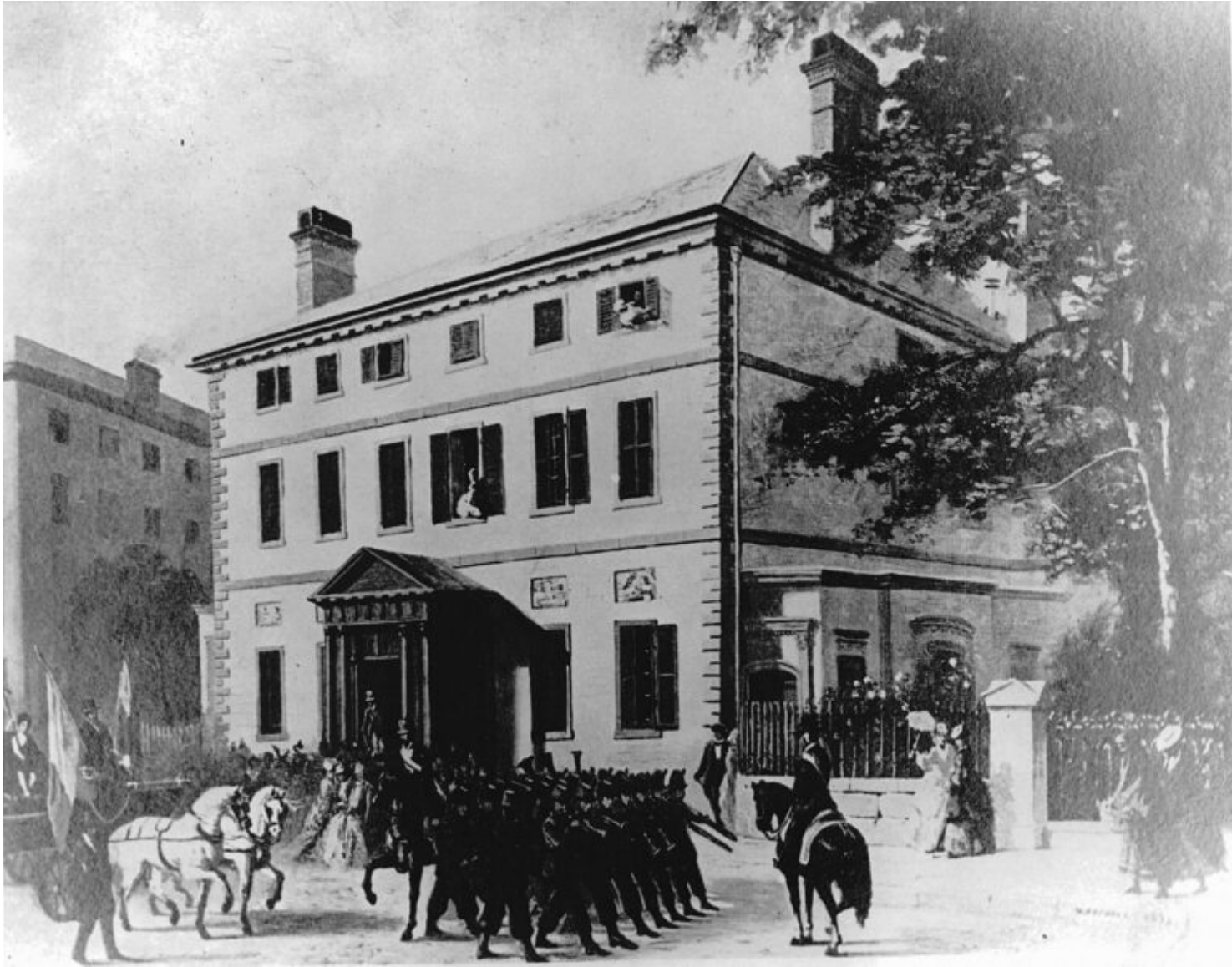
Copenhagen and St. Petersburg).²

During the first half of the nineteenth century, artists of this movement looked beyond traditional academic teaching. Instead of focusing on historical subjects (ancient, mythological, religious) and models derived from Greco-Roman statuary, they wanted to address the realities of their environment and engage their art in a relationship with everyday life.³ In the words of art historian Geraldine Norman, "[R]ealism, the faithful and objective rendering of nature, is the essence of Biedermeier painting."⁴ The result is an approach tinged with reality and a preference for genre scenes, portraits, and landscapes. Several of Raphael's early works—such as *The Old Pedlar*, 1859, *Haymarket Square / Victoria Square*, 1861, *Going to Town*, 1862, *Bonsecours Market*, 1964, and *Behind Bonsecours Market, Montreal*, 1866—illustrate this approach. In these paintings, he takes care to capture the scenes in minute detail.

Raphael's *St. Jean-Baptiste Parade Outside the Montreal Bank*, 1872, is reminiscent of *Parade on the Opernplatz, Berlin*, 1822, 1829, by German Biedermeier painter Franz Krüger (1797–1857).⁵ Both paintings demonstrate a desire to capture a severe architectural setting where light abounds. The urban landscapes where the action unfolds are vividly depicted, and in both works, the characters' clothes and activities are carefully rendered to preserve a sense of realism.



Franz Krüger, *Parade on the Opernplatz, Berlin*, 1822, 1829, oil on canvas, 249 x 374 cm, Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin.



Unknown artist, after William Raphael, *St. Jean-Baptiste Parade Outside the Montreal Bank*, 1872, 1932, silver salts on paper, gelatin silver process, 19 x 24 cm, McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal.

In many respects, Raphael's Biedermeier roots and German training resulted in an approach reminiscent of the work of compatriots who settled in Canada after him. The spirit of the Biedermeier movement can especially be seen in pieces by Otto Reinhold Jacobi (1812-1901) and Adolphe Vogt (1842-1871). Before arriving in Canada, Jacobi studied at the Royal Academy of Arts in Berlin and then at the Düsseldorf Academy, where he developed his technique under the guidance of landscape painter Johann Wilhelm Schirmer (1807-1863), who was closely associated with the Biedermeier movement.⁶ Vogt was trained at the Munich Academy by animal painter Rudolf Koller (1828-1905).

When Jacobi settled in Montreal in 1860, he immediately befriended Raphael. His landscapes, such as *The Rapids, Montmorency River*, 1860, sought to capture reality by meticulously depicting details like the rock strata of this natural setting. Vogt, who joined his family in Montreal in 1865, also demonstrated an adherence to Biedermeier principles in his work.⁷ His paintings from the 1860s, such as *Niagara Falls*, 1869, express a vision primarily rooted in realism, the pursuit of natural effects, and an interest in creating minor genres. Through art linked to the aesthetics then in vogue in the Prussian Empire, Raphael, Jacobi, and Vogt brought a distinct approach to Canadian painting and helped to revitalize the cultural environment in the years leading up to Confederation.⁸

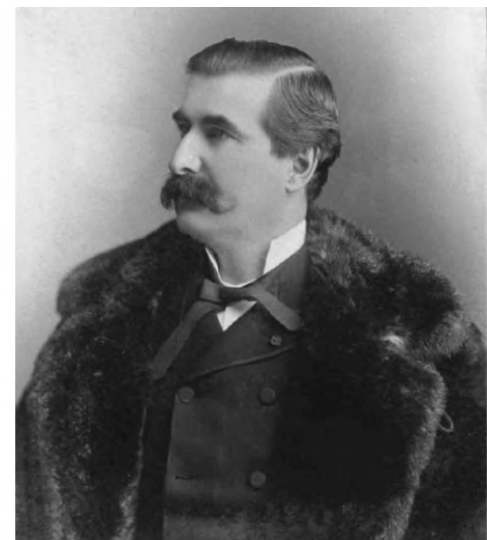


LEFT: Otto Reinhold Jacobi, *The Rapids, Montmorency River (Les Rapides, rivière Montmorency)*, 1860, oil on canvas, 41 x 48.8 cm, Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec, Quebec City. RIGHT: Adolphe Vogt, *Niagara Falls*, 1869, oil on canvas, 51 x 99.2 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

PHOTOGRAPHY FOR PICTORIAL PURPOSES

Raphael was still a boy when the first photographic process, the daguerreotype, was introduced in 1839. The invention made it technically possible to capture reality as it unfolds before the camera lens. By the time Raphael had completed his training in Berlin and settled in Montreal in 1857, photography had become an increasingly popular means of expression. The connections between painting and photography were obvious: many photographers first trained as painters, and many painters worked for professional photographers in their studios, creating backgrounds and so on.

By 1859, Raphael had already started to work with William Notman (1826–1891), and he later worked with Abner Bedee Taber (1832–1866) and James Inglis (1835–1904) as well. Raphael may have even collaborated with Quebec City photographer Jules-Ernest Livernois (1851–1933) on a portrait of politician Honoré Mercier produced around 1890.⁹



LEFT: William Raphael, *Portrait of Louis-Édouard Desjardins*, 1877, oil on canvas, 67 x 53.5 cm, Pointe-à-Callière, Montreal Archaeology and History Complex. RIGHT: Jules-Ernest Livernois, *Honoré Mercier*, c.1880, acetate negative, 25 x 20 cm, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, Montreal.

As part of his work in the Notman studio, Raphael created a number of portraits from black-and-white photographic enlargements. In this process, the photograph becomes the equivalent of a preparatory drawing that an artist traces on his canvas before applying colour. Working from the enlarged photograph, the painter colours the surface, taking care to preserve the details of the original piece. Photography transformed the hours the sitter might once have spent immobilized in the painter's studio into a few minutes in front of the camera lens. The painter could then copy the photographic portrait onto canvas at leisure, without worrying that the subject would change his or her pose. This approach resulted in meticulously rendered pictorial works like *The McFarlane*

Children, 1871, and *Portrait of Louis-Édouard Desjardins*, 1877.

For Raphael, photography was not just a tool that facilitated his work as a portraitist but also a medium that perfectly aligned with his Biedermeier principles.¹⁰ The image captured by the lens reflected a reality that was a foundation of his artistic approach. What's more, the collaborative work of painters and photographers facilitated the development of subjects and techniques that had not yet been widely explored in art.

In the 1870s, for example, Notman developed composite photography, a multi-stage process for assembling many photographs on a single surface. The method allowed him to produce images that bypassed the technical limitations of the camera—in particular, slow shutter speeds that made it impossible to catch subjects in motion. At a time when the technology to capture and stop action instantaneously did not exist, Notman devised a solution by taking shots in the studio and then having his art department cut and paste them onto a background. The portrait of Sir Robert Abercromby and W. Dudgeon, for example, was the result of a collaborative effort between Notman and the members of his art department, including painter Henry Sandham (1842–1910).



LEFT: William Notman Studio, *Sir Robert Abercromby and W. Dudgeon, Montreal, QC, 1876*, 1876, silver salts on paper mounted on paper, 12.7 x 17.8 cm, McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal. RIGHT: William Raphael, *Sledding, Fletcher's Field, Montreal*, 1875–78, graphite on wove paper, 9.4 x 14.6 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

This intersection of disciplines led to the development of iconographies that were still relatively uncommon in the visual arts, such as scenes of people tobogganing or bobsledding. Influenced by the work of Notman and his studio, Raphael made a sketch, *Sledding, Fletcher's Field, Montreal* (today Jeanne-Mance Park), around 1878, showing many people embracing this winter pastime. We can imagine him observing the scene and quickly capturing it in graphite—an approach well suited to expressing the sense of movement implied by such a subject. Two years later, he produced the painting *Bobsledding, Fletcher's Field, Montreal*, and in 1885, a reproduction of his piece *Rural Bliss* appeared in the *Montreal Daily Witness*.¹¹ These two works, showing young people tobogganing in closer detail, are reminiscent of the composite images created by Notman and also reproduced by Sandham in *Tobogganing, Winter Scene in Montreal*, 1885, and Alfred Boisseau (1823–1901) in *La Descente en toboggan*, 1881.¹² By combining the possibilities offered by photography with

his painterly sensibility, Raphael epitomized this hybrid artistic practice, where collaboration between painters and photographers allowed for new subjects and a new way of seeing the world.



William Raphael, *Bobsledding, Fletcher's Field, Montreal*, 1880, oil on canvas, 45 x 27 cm, collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal.

A LITTLE BIT OF HUMOUR

Raphael was not a caricaturist and his art was not essentially humorous, but he occasionally liked to incorporate light-hearted elements into his work, and these sometimes revealed aspects of his temperament. In fact, many of Raphael's paintings feature smiling characters and scenes of mockery, leading some contemporaries to compare his art to that of William Hogarth (1697-1764) or Adolf Schrödter (or Schroedter, 1805-1875).



LEFT: William Raphael, *Man and Two Women*, August 25, 1851, graphite on wove paper, 15.8 x 10 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. RIGHT: William Hogarth, *John Wilkes Esq.*, 1763, etching and engraving; first state of two, 36.4 x 23.4 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

The first clear expression of Raphael's sense of humour came in his early sketchbook, and also in the mid-1860s, when he responded to a critical review of his painting *Behind Bonsecours Market, Montreal* by creating a new version that featured, as the *Art Journal of London* put it, "a graphic full-length caricature of a noted *blind Art-critic*, who is a stumbling-block in the way of every artist visiting Montreal."¹³ Raphael deliberately used caricature to hit back at his detractors, and seemingly to great success. The critic for the *Art Journal* went on to compare him to "the immortal Hogarth"—high praise indeed, given the popularity of Hogarth's satirical works.¹⁴ But it never became Raphael's habit to use caricature to score points.

Some of his pieces occasionally include humorous touches that call to mind the work of Cornelius Krieghoff (1815-1872). The two artists shared many similarities, particularly in their depictions of Canada and everyday life, and in their appreciation of local culture. Raphael may have been influenced by Krieghoff's work when he produced pieces marked by a similar light-heartedness. At times, he almost seems to be following in the older man's footsteps—his paintings *Tandem*, 1869 and 1878, for example, seem to evoke Krieghoff's *Sled Race across the Ice*, 1861. Both works exude the same sense of pleasure in winter activities and are tinged with a childlike, joyful quality.



LEFT: William Raphael, *Tandem*, 1878, oil on canvas, 53.3 x 87.6 cm, collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. RIGHT: Cornelius Krieghoff, *Sled Race across the Ice*, 1861, oil on canvas, 36.2 x 53.6 cm, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.

Parallels with Krieghoff are also evident in *The Early Bird Picks Up the Worm*, 1869. This piece, which shows two dishevelled men going from door to door in search of food, is notably reminiscent of two 1858 works by Krieghoff: *Pour l'amour du bon dieu?* and *Va au diable!*. These paintings, like Raphael's, were made available on a larger scale through chromolithographic reproduction.¹⁵ The works display similarities in their subjects' facial expressions, the multiple layers of patched clothing, and the titles chosen to enhance the humorous effect.

The lightness of Raphael's work, while more evident in some pieces from the 1860s, didn't vanish into thin air in the challenging decades that followed. In 1886, for example, he exhibited the painting *Never Too Late to Mend*, which, according to a *Montreal Star* journalist, was a good example of his humour.¹⁶

The titles of two paintings exhibited eleven years apart—*A Bad Case* and *A Difficult Problem*—suggest that Raphael maintained his sense of humour even as his career prospects deteriorated. The first of these, *A Bad Case*, was exhibited at the Art Association of Montreal in 1887, after he'd been mocked publicly by the secretary of the organization. The painting depicts a tinsmith who refuses to give up his work, even though everything seems hopeless.¹⁷ In 1898, following his resignation from the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts in 1896 after years of failing to obtain financial support, he presented *A Difficult Problem* at its annual exhibition.¹⁸ Even though the title is cloaked in humour, it's difficult not to read it as Raphael's final criticism of this institution.

THE MEASURED SHIFTS OF THE PICTORIAL LANGUAGE

William Raphael produced a body of work that, taken as a whole, displays a great deal of cohesion in terms of subject matter and pictorial treatment. His portraits, for example, are similar in style at both the beginning and the end of his career. In this respect, the painter does not stray far from his Berlin influences, as in *Portrait of a Man*, 1874. When tackling this genre, he treats the modeling with flexibility and opts for a very earthy color palette. This practice tended to change slightly over the years, with the polished technique in the meticulous treatment of the face being replaced by more visible brushstrokes, both in the heads and in the backgrounds, as revealed in *Portrait of a Lady*, painted ten years later, in 1884.



LEFT: William Raphael, *Portrait of a Lady*, 1884, oil on millboard, 28 x 22.8 cm, Winnipeg Art Gallery–Qaumajuq. RIGHT: William Raphael, *Portrait of a Man*, 1874, oil on canvas, 68.6 x 55.9 cm, collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal.

In Raphael's genre scenes and landscapes, the pictorial treatment was different. The figures are not depicted as carefully as they are in his portraits. Instead, the modelling is often simplified and the details executed more hastily. Throughout the 1860s and 1870s, in paintings such as *Haymarket Square / Victoria Square*, 1861, and *Royal Mail, New Brunswick*, 1861, Raphael would use a tone-on-tone treatment to render his subjects' clothes, layering a lighter topcoat over a darker base. But he always left room for the imprint of his brush and the texture of the canvas.

In his early landscapes, Raphael often depicted natural elements such as branches, grasses, and water with thinly applied paint—see, for instance, the tree in the composition *Boy and a Cart*, 1860. In this work, Raphael afforded his brush little freedom to capture the texture of the foliage. A few years later, however, he began to slightly alter his approach. In the painting *Double Barn Building Reflecting in Water*, 1874, the shrubs along the shoreline reveal multiple brushstrokes—sometimes round, sometimes elongated—left on the surface of the canvas.



William Raphael, *Double Barn Building Reflecting in Water*, 1874, oil on panel, 33 x 48.3 cm, collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal.

By the end of the 1870s, Raphael's pictorial style had become lighter. Perhaps influenced by compatriots who had returned from studying in France and by the new Impressionist movement, he gradually abandoned his earthy palette. Though not a strict follower of Impressionism, he nonetheless began to opt for lighter colours and more visible brushstrokes. In the 1880s, Raphael tried to reflect the luminous atmospheres he encountered on his excursions. The painting *Landscape with Pond and Pink Bushes*, 1885, captures a cloudy summer scene with much less grey and brown than is found in his works of the preceding decades. The grasses and foliage and the swirls of water show a diversity of colours: greens, oranges, reds, and so on. The clouds in the sky appear to have been rendered with a palette knife, as the paint has been gently crushed and swept over the canvas.

The same type of brushwork, with its many strokes and less precision, can be seen in other works over the years, both *plein air* pochades (quick sketches) and paintings finished in the studio, such as *An Amateur*, 1886, and *With the Current*, 1892. Although Raphael didn't fully embrace the emerging Impressionist movement in Canada, he was able to incorporate elements of its style in his work, revealing an ongoing curiosity about exploring different techniques.

FROM PLEIN AIR TO THE STUDIO

William Raphael notably kept detailed notebooks throughout his career. These books, filled continually over the years, provide important evidence of his artistic practice. From an early age, he developed a habit of putting his observations down on paper, a practice that became integral as he evolved his artistic approach to encountering nature in his work. The many visual notes he made during trips to Germany and Scotland, as well as to Louiseville, Cowansville, and Montebello in Quebec, reveal his preference for working *en plein air*. Raphael also took advantage of the developing railway infrastructure to get around Quebec, as evidenced by *Waiting for the Train, Dunn Station, Lachine*, 1883.



William Raphael, *Landscape with Pond and Pink Bushes*, August 25, 1885, oil on panel, 40.6 x 30.5 cm, collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal.

In some of his sketches, he wrote notes about the colours he'd observed. He also produced quick paintings in situ, using a small piece of cardboard or a wooden panel as a support. One of the earliest examples of this practice is a landscape of Lake

Memphremagog painted in 1869.

In his quest to capture the scene's atmosphere and light effects as

quickly as possible, Raphael

painted with visible brushstrokes,

without attempting to fill the entire

surface perfectly. This spontaneous treatment allowed him to catch the fleeting moment of the cloudy scene unfolding before his eyes.



LEFT: William Raphael, *Cowansville*, July 16, 1885, graphite on paper, 12.2 x 16.7 cm, McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal. RIGHT: William Raphael, *Waiting for the Train, Dunn Station, Lachine*, June 25, 1883, graphite on paper, 16.6 x 12.2 cm, McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal.



For Raphael, this approach was in keeping with the practice favoured by Biedermeier artists. Johann Wilhelm Schirmer, for example, was famous for spending time in nature, sometimes accompanied by Karl Friedrich Lessing (1808–1880).¹⁹ As art historian Geraldine Norman notes, "[S]tudies made directly from nature were considered of the highest importance [for Biedermeier artists], though they were not normally sold per se but used as reference material for the composition of landscape paintings in the studio."²⁰



William Raphael, *Untitled (Lake Memphremagog)*, 1869, oil on panel, 17 x 32.3 cm, Tom Thomson Art Gallery, Owen Sound, Ontario.

Excursions into nature were valued for the sketches they produced, which were then used for later works painted in the studio. This practice was also shared by many other nineteenth-century European artists, including those associated with Romanticism (such as J.M.W. Turner [1775–1851]), the Barbizon School (including Jean-François Millet [1814–1875]), and Impressionism (including

Claude Monet [1840–1926]). Raphael's penchant for *plein air* was reported by a journalist in the *Quebec Daily Mercury* in 1869: "He has made sketches of all the most remarkable points of this magnificent landscape [of Murray Bay]... and by the time of the next artists' exhibition, it is probable that some of these sketches will have recovered their vivid colors, their finish and their wonderfully picturesque contours."²¹

Like many of his predecessors and contemporaries, Raphael often used sketches as the basis for more finished works. In this way, different fragments of nature would influence the final composition. The Raphael painting that best evokes this process is *An Amateur*, 1886.²² The painting started with a few quick drawings in October 1882. On the sly, Raphael captured one of his students at work, palette in hand, seated on a portable three-legged stool.²³ This was probably Abbé Jules-Bernardin-Royal Rioux.²⁴ The scene, as we learn from an article in the *Gazette* in 1883, was also the subject of a pochade entitled *A Sketch from Nature*. The newspaper confirms what the title says: that this was a scene sketched on the spot. "[It] represents a reverend [curate] working at his easel unconscious of the companion artist behind; this represents an actual artist's excursion to Black River."²⁵ The pochade was exhibited at the Art Association of Montreal's salon in 1883. Two years later, Raphael reworked his composition into a more finely crafted version, altering the angle and size of the piece on the easel and adding the paintbox in the lower left of the work.²⁶ The finished painting, more detailed than the pochade, was then given the title *An Amateur* and shown at the 1886 spring exhibition.²⁷

In both his drawings and his many sketches, Raphael was one of the first Canadian creators to carry out his artistic work directly outdoors, in the very landscapes he intended to paint. This *plein air* approach was a key element in the renewal of artistic practices in the nineteenth century, of which Raphael was one of the forerunners in Canada.



LEFT: William Raphael, *Man Seated*, 1882, graphite on wove paper, 18.9 x 12.1 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. RIGHT: William Raphael, *An Amateur*, 1886, oil on canvas, 49.5 x 39.4 cm, collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal.



WILLIAM RAPHAEL

Life & Work by Pierre-Olivier Ouellet



William Raphael, *Longueuil Wharf*, September 11, 1889, oil on canvas, 54.6 x 45.7 cm, collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal.



WHERE TO SEE

The works of William Raphael are held in public and private collections in Canada and internationally. Although the following institutions hold the works listed below, they may not always be on view.

COLLECTION OF JONATHAN WENER

900-2000 Peel Street
Montreal, Quebec, Canada
514-842-8636
canderel.com



William Raphael,
*Sinking of the Schooner
Industry, December 19,
1856*

Graphite on paper
8.5 x 14.1 cm



**William Raphael, Boy
and a Cart, 1860**

Oil on canvas
58.4 x 47 cm



William Raphael,
*Haymarket Square /
Victoria Square, 1861*

Oil on canvas
51.1 x 63.5 cm



**William Raphael, The
Rival Beggars, 1861**

Oil on canvas
66 x 61 cm



William Raphael,
*Portrait of an Orthodox
Jew, 1861*

Graphite on paper
17.8 x 15.2 cm



William Raphael,
*Portrait of an Orthodox
Jew Smoking, 1861*

Oil on canvas
31.1 x 26 cm



**William Raphael, Self-
Portrait, 1862**

Oil on canvas mounted
on cardboard
47.6 x 25.6 cm



William Raphael,
*Fireside Chat in the
Clearing, 1867*

Oil on canvas
61 x 106.7 cm



**William Raphael, Mr.
Sarrasin, St. Gabriel de
Brandon (holding pipe),
1872**

Lithograph
23.8 x 16.5 cm



William Raphael,
*Habitant (or Preparing
to Smoke), c.1872-
1910*

Oil on canvas
35 x 27 cm



William Raphael,
*Habitant Warming,
1872-1910*

Oil on canvas
35.5 x 27.9 cm



William Raphael,
Habitant, c.1873-1910

Oil on canvas
35.9 x 28.3 cm



William Raphael,
*Double Barn Building
Reflecting in Water,*
1874

Oil on panel
33 x 48.3 cm



William Raphael,
Portrait of a Man, 1874

Oil on canvas
68.6 x 55.9 cm



William Raphael, *Good
News,* 1875

Oil on canvas laid down
on board
35.6 x 21 cm



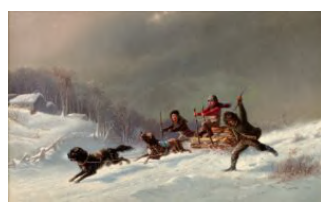
William Raphael,
Boating at Dusk, 1878

Oil on canvas
41.3 x 31.1 cm



William Raphael,
*Pointe-au-Pic, Murray
Bay—Approaching
Storm,* 1878

Oil on cardboard
28.3 x 45.4 cm



William Raphael,
Tandem, 1878

Oil on canvas
53.3 x 87.6 cm



William Raphael,
*Bobsledding, Fletcher's
Field, Montreal,* 1880

Oil on canvas
45 x 27 cm



William Raphael,
Portrait of Wolf Rafalsky,
c.1880

Oil on canvas
45.1 x 36.8 cm



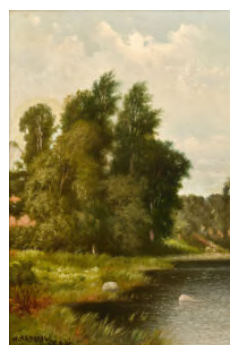
William Raphael,
*Coachman Standing at
Rest Smoking a Pipe,*
1881

Oil on canvas
50.8 x 40.6 cm



William Raphael, *A
Sketch from Nature,*
October 5, 1882

Oil on board
25.4 x 20.3 cm



William Raphael,
*Landscape with Pond
and Pink Bushes,*
August 25, 1885

Oil on panel
40.6 x 30.5 cm



William Raphael, *Self-
Portrait of the Artist,*
c.1885

Oil on canvas
61 x 50.8 cm



William Raphael, *An Amateur*, 1886

Oil on canvas
49.5 x 39.4 cm



William Raphael, *Longueuil Wharf, September 11, 1889*

Oil on canvas
54.6 x 45.7 cm



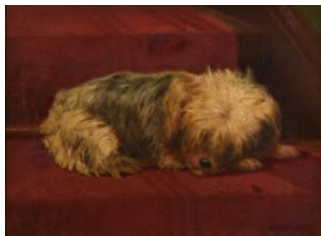
William Raphael, *Sawmill and Hydraulic Dam*, 1889

Oil on canvas
30.5 x 40.6 cm



William Raphael, *Awaiting Mother's Return on a Snowy Day*, 1891

Oil on canvas
71.1 x 43.2 cm



William Raphael, *The Artist's Dog Niny*, c.1895

Oil on canvas
30.5 x 40.6 cm



William Raphael, *The Artist's House in Victoria St.*, 1908

Watercolour on paper
26.7 x 31.8 cm



William Raphael, *Two Women in Rowboat Near Shoreline*, July 5, 1911

Oil on canvas
30.5 x 43.2 cm

ART GALLERY OF NOVA SCOTIA

1723 Hollis Street
Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada
902-424-2580
agns.ca



William Raphael, *The Old Pedlar*, 1859

Oil on canvas
76.3 x 89.1 cm



WILLIAM RAPHAEL

Life & Work by Pierre-Olivier Ouellet

BEAVERBROOK ART GALLERY

703 Queen Street
Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada
506-458-2028
beaverbrookartgallery.org



William Raphael, *Royal Mail, New Brunswick*, 1861

Oil on canvas
30.5 x 35.6 cm

CHÂTEAU RAMEZAY MUSEUM

280 Notre-Dame Street East
Montreal, Quebec, Canada
514-861-3708
chateauramezay.qc.ca



William Raphael, after an unknown artist, *Portrait of William McGillivray*, 1908

Oil on canvas
77 x 61.3 cm

GALERIE DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DE MONTRÉAL

Pavillon de la Faculté de l'aménagement—University of Montreal
2940 chemin de la Côte-Sainte-Catherine, room 0056
Montreal, Quebec, Canada
514-343-6111 ext. 4694
<https://galerie.umontreal.ca>



William Raphael, *Portrait of Jeremiah Wright Wilson*, 1878

Oil on canvas

59 x 48 cm

MCCORD STEWART MUSEUM

690 Sherbrooke Street West
Montreal, Quebec, Canada
514-861-6701
musee-mccord-stewart.ca



William Raphael, *Arrocher*, 1865

Graphite on paper

17.5 x 24.9 cm



William Raphael, *Pack of Wolves*, c.1879

Charcoal on paper

31.5 x 57 cm



William Raphael, *Waiting for the Train, Dunn Station, Lachine, June 25, 1883*

Graphite on paper

16.6 x 12.2 cm



William Raphael, *Cowansville, July 16, 1885*

Graphite on paper

12.2 x 16.7 cm



WILLIAM RAPHAEL

Life & Work by Pierre-Olivier Ouellet

MONTREAL MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

1380 Sherbrooke Street West
Montreal, Quebec, Canada
514-285-2000
mbam.qc.ca



William Raphael, *Habitants Attacked by Wolves*, 1870

Oil on canvas
60.3 x 160 cm



William Raphael, *With the Current*, 1892

Oil on canvas
40.8 x 63.5 cm

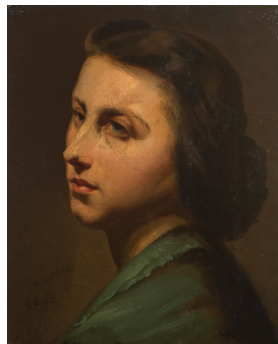
MUSÉE DE LACHINE

1 Chemin du Musée
Lachine, Quebec, Canada
514-367-6423
museesmontreal.org/en/museums/musee-de-lachine



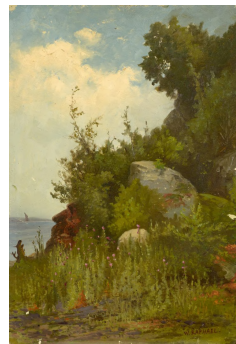
William Raphael, *Hand on Guitar*, January 31, 1854

Canvas mounted on
cardboard
24 x 29.5 cm



William Raphael, *Portrait of a Woman*, June 8, 1855

Oil on cardboard



William Raphael, *Murray Bay Rock in Greenery*, 1878

Oil on cardboard
43 x 30 cm



William Raphael, *Dam on the St. Charles River*, 1873

Oil on paper
36 x 29.4 cm

MUSÉE NATIONAL DES BEAUX-ARTS DU QUÉBEC

179 Grande Allée West
Quebec City, Quebec, Canada
418-643-2150
mnbaq.org



William Raphael, *Tandem*, 1869

Oil on canvas
56.5 x 92.3 cm

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA

380 Sussex Drive
Ottawa, Ontario, Canada
613-990-1985
gallery.ca



William Raphael, *The Rafalsky family home in Nakel*, May 6, 1851

Watercolour and
graphite on wove paper
15.8 x 10 cm



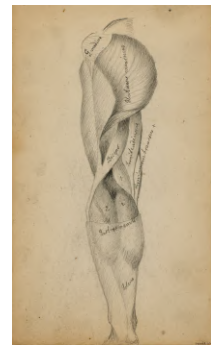
William Raphael, *Man and Two Women*, August 25, 1851

Graphite on wove paper
15.8 x 10 cm



William Raphael, *Anatomy Study of Arm Muscles*, 1853-56

Graphite on wove paper
16.8 x 10.5 cm



William Raphael, *Anatomy Study of Leg Muscles*, 1853-57

Graphite on wove paper
20.1 x 11.6 cm



William Raphael, *Man Playing Violin Under Lamppost*, 1853-57

Graphite on wove paper
20.1 x 11.6 cm



William Raphael, after Edmé Bouchardon, *Study of a sculpture of a flayed figure*, 1854

Graphite on wove paper
20.1 x 11.6 cm



William Raphael, *Behind Bonsecours Market, Montreal*, 1866

Oil on canvas
67.5 x 109.6 cm



William Raphael, after James Inglis, *The McFarlane Children*, 1871

Oil on canvas, mounted
on Masonite
114.8 x 90.5 x 0.4 cm



WILLIAM RAPHAEL

Life & Work by Pierre-Olivier Ouellet



William Raphael, *Tobogganing, Fletcher's Field, Montreal, 1875-78*

Graphite on wove paper
9.4 x 14.6 cm



William Raphael, *The Boating Party, 1876*

Oil on canvas
33.2 x 52.4 cm



William Raphael, *Cap-à-l'Aigle, August 3, 1878*

Graphite on wove paper
9.4 x 14.6 cm



William Raphael, *Murray Bay, July 30, 1878*

Graphite on wove paper
9.4 x 14.6 cm



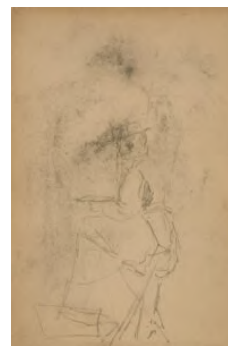
William Raphael, *Indian Encampment on the Lower St. Lawrence, 1879*

Oil on canvas
61.3 x 107 cm



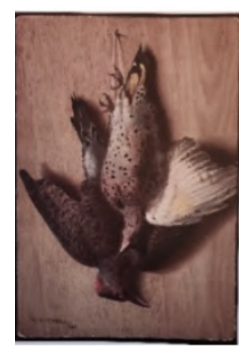
William Raphael, *Bonsecours Market, Montreal, 1880*

Oil on canvas
30.4 x 40.7 cm



William Raphael, *Man Seated, 1882*

Graphite on wove paper
18.9 x 12.1 cm



William Raphael, *Still Life (Northern Flickers), 1885*

Oil on paper, mounted
on pressed paper
fibreboard
46.5 x 31.5 cm

POINTE-À-CALLIÈRE

Montreal Archaeology and History Complex
350 Place Royale
Montreal, Quebec, Canada
514-872-9150
pacmusee.qc.ca



William Raphael, *Portrait of Louis-Édouard Desjardins, 1877*

Oil on canvas
67 x 53.5 cm

RIVERBRINK ART MUSEUM



WILLIAM RAPHAEL

Life & Work by Pierre-Olivier Ouellet

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William Raphael, *Going to Town*, 1862

Oil on canvas
30.5 x 35.2 cm

TOM THOMSON ART GALLERY

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Owen Sound, Ontario, Canada
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owensound.ca/recreation-culture/arts-and-culture/tom-thomson-art-gallery



William Raphael, *Untitled (Lake Memphremagog)*, 1869

Oil on panel
17 x 32.3 cm



WINNIPEG ART GALLERY—QAUMAJUQ

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Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada
204-786-6641
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William Raphael, *Portrait of a Lady*, 1884

Oil on millboard
28 x 22.8 cm



NOTES

BIOGRAPHY

1. As evidenced by two sketchbooks preserved at the McCord Stewart Museum in Montreal. Sharon Goelman, "William Raphael, R.C.A. (1833-1914)" (master's thesis, Concordia University, 1978), 10. Goelman's pioneering work on the artist's life and career brought to light many relevant sources that have aided in constructing his rich biography. I am indebted to her many discoveries, some of which have been published, notably in Sharon Goelman, *William Raphael, R.C.A. (1833-1914)*, exh. cat. (Galerie Walter Klinkhoff, 1996), and in Sharon Goelman, "Raphael, William," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 14 (University of Toronto / Université Laval, 1998), 932-935, https://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/raphael_william_14E.html.

2. Goelman, "William Raphael," 13-14.

3. Goelman, "William Raphael," 14-17.

4. Goelman, "William Raphael," 12, 18-19.

5. William Raphael, "The Art Gallery," *The Gazette*, June 18, 1886, 5.

6. Ulrike Möhlenbeck, head of the historical archives at the Academy of Arts in Berlin, explained: "Among the 28,000 names of students, I have unfortunately been unable to find any reference to William Raphael (Raffaelsky). Our records are not complete, as some of the student lists were lost during the Second World War." Ulrike Möhlenbeck, email message to author, September 14, 2023. This same observation was made by Sharon Goelman, "William Raphael," 257-58n56-57.

7. Goelman, "William Raphael," 19.

8. "Sketchbook No. 5," National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. Goelman, "William Raphael," 19.

9. The tasks and responsibilities for a course offered by Johann Wolff were discussed at a meeting held on August 23, 1851, confirming the professor's presence at the Berlin institution. "Minutes of the Academic Senate meetings and plenary assemblies of 1851 and 1852," August 23, 1851, 04.1. Wahlen, Schriftwechsel, PrAdK 0136, Akademie Der Künste Archiv, Berlin. At that time, a new teacher had the same surname, a certain "Emil Wolff," who was undoubtedly the sculptor born in 1802 and died in 1879. The latter became a professor at the academy on March 15, 1851. "Minutes of the Academic Senate meetings and plenary assemblies of 1851 and 1852," March 15, 1851, 04.1. Wahlen, Schriftwechsel, PrAdK 0136, Akademie Der Künste Archiv, Berlin. Another member of the academy bearing the name Wolff, namely "Albert Wolff" (possibly the sculptor Karl Konrad Albert Wolff [1814-1892]), was active in the academic senate, but did not teach at the institution until 1866. "Minutes of the Academic Senate and Plenary Assemblies of 1851 and 1852," March 29, 1851, 04.1. Wahlen, Schriftwechsel, PrAdK 0136, Akademie Der Künste Archiv, Berlin.



10. Raphael may also have taken classes with Begas, as he claimed in 1886, since Begas did indeed teach composition and drapery at the Royal Academy in Berlin from 1829 to 1854. Goelman, "William Raphael," 257-58, note 56. In 1853, he did indeed teach a course in composition, "Minutes of the Academic Senate and Plenary Assemblies of 1853 and 1854," April 17, 1853, 03.2. Protokolle der Sitzungen des Senats, der Mitglieder und der Gesamtakademie, PrAdK 049, Akademie Der Künste Archiv, Berlin. Initially a Nazarene, Begas changed his practice in the 1840s to embrace genre scenes and adopt a realistic approach in the spirit of Biedermeier. Eberhard Ruhmer, "Begas, Karl the Elder," *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 1, 1953, 744-45.

11. Herbig mainly taught drawing. In 1850, he was appointed acting director of the academy, a position he held until 1861. "Friedrich Wilhelm Heinrich Herbig," Akademie Der Künste, https://www.adk.de/de/akademie/mitglieder/index.htm?we_objectID=54629.

12. "Minutes of the meetings of the Academic Senate and plenary assemblies of 1851 and 1852," June 26, 1852, 03.2. Protokolle der Sitzungen des Senats, der Mitglieder und der Gesamtakademie, PrAdK 049, Akademie Der Künste Archiv, Berlin.

13. Despite the desire for reform in the first half of the nineteenth century, the academic system in Berlin remained linked to the models already in place in Italy and France. Hans Gerhard Hannesen, *Die Akademie der Künste in Berlin: Facetten einer 300jährigen Geschichte* (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 2005), 10-11, 111-18.

14. "Minutes of the meetings of the Academic Senate and plenary assemblies of 1851 and 1852," June 26, 1852, 03.2. Protokolle der Sitzungen des Senats, der Mitglieder und der Gesamtakademie, PrAdK 049, Akademie Der Künste Archiv, Berlin.

15. A professor of anatomical drawing taught at the academy. Students were even allowed to draw from cadavers, under the guidance of their teacher. Johann Friedrich Unger, ed., *Reglement für die Akademie der bildenden Künste und mechanischen Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1790), 20.

16. Goelman, "William Raphael," 8-9.

17. Jonathan Wagner, *A History of Migration from Germany to Canada, 1850-1939* (UBC Press, 2006), 22-23.

18. See the numerous drawings in William Raphael's "Sketchbook No. 2," in the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. Goelman, "William Raphael," 32-33.

19. Arthur J. Maginnis, *The Atlantic Ferry: Its Ships, Men, and Working* (Whittaker & Co., 1893), 95. The *Borussia* was designed in 1855 by the Hamburg-American Line and made its maiden voyage on June 1, 1856.



20. "The Hamburg steamship *Borussia*," *Daily National Intelligencer*, December 24, 1856, 1.

21. "The Hamburg steamship *Borussia*, 1.

22. Despite William Raphael's drawings and notes, which prove that he made the crossing on the *Borussia* in December 1856, the list of the ship's 279 passengers, compiled in New York, does not include his name (or the variants Israel Rafalsky or Raphaelsky). "List or Manifest of All the Passengers On Board the Steamship *Borussia*, December 22, 1856 (November 18 to December 31, 1856)," *Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, 1820-1897* (Washington: National Archives Microfilm Publications, 1958), microform, 169.

23. Goelman, "William Raphael," 38-39.

24. "Sketchbook No. 3," National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. Goelman, "William Raphael," 39-40.

25. As recorded by the artist in his "Sketchbook" from the Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. Goelman, "William Raphael," 39.

26. Laurier Lacroix and Suzanne Sauvage, eds., *James Duncan (1806-1881): Painter of Montreal* (Montreal: McCord Stewart Museum, 2023). See especially the chapter "Discovering Duncan" by Laurier Lacroix, 12-45. Apart from Duncan, *Mackay's Montreal Directory, for 1856-57* lists only two other Montreal-based artists, about which there is very little information: painter John Hawksett and a certain Robert Parker, 125, 218.

27. "Sketchbook No. 3," Goelman, "William Raphael," 41.

28. Arlene Gehmacher, *Paul Kane: Life & Work* (Toronto: Art Canada Institute, 2014), 5, 13-14.

29. The artist lists the portraits made during this period in "Sketchbook No. 3." Goelman, "William Raphael," 41-42.

30. *Mackay's Montreal Directory, for 1856-57*, 317.

31. "Photography: W. Notman," *Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette*, March 2, 1859, 1.

32. "Oil Painted Photographs," *Morning Chronicle* (Quebec), December 17, 1859, 2.

33. "Sketchbook No. 5." Goelman, "William Raphael," 82-83, 276n101. Similarly, in the article "Fine Arts" (*Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette*, September 30, 1859, 2), William Raphael is associated with William Notman's studio.

34. From "Oil Painted Photographs," *Morning Chronicle*, 2.

35. "The Prince's Arrival," *Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette*, August 27, 1860, supplement, 2.

36. William Raphael, after William Notman, *Unidentified Lady, Painted Photograph, Montreal*, 1860, oil and silver salts on paper mounted on canvas, 50.8 x 40.6 cm, McCord Stewart Museum (N-1978.1.1). This painting on a photograph is signed and dated 1860. A portrait of a man, inscribed "W. Notman / W.R. / Montreal / 1860," is also reported by Goelman. Goelman, "William Raphael," 83-84.

37. William Raphael, "The Art Gallery," *The Gazette* (Montreal), June 18, 1886, 5.

38. Further research into the Dawson family's role would be welcome. A glance at a few newspapers of the period highlights their activity in the Montreal art scene. See, for example, "Paintings on Exhibition," *Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette*, March 5, 1857, 3; "A Sculptor," *Gazette* (Montreal), June 7, 1859, 2; "Photography on a Large Scale," *Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette*, May 3, 1860, 2; "The Royal Family," *Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette*, August 27, 1860, 1. See also George L. Parker, "Dawson, Samuel Edward," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 14 (University of Toronto / Université Laval, 1998), 301-303, https://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/dawson_samuel_edward_14E.html.

39. "Fine Arts," *Montreal Herald*, 2.

40. "Fine Arts," *Montreal Herald*, 2.

41. "Oil Painted Photographs," *Morning Chronicle* (Quebec), 2. Long referred to as the "Man with the Hat," the portrait has the features of a young William Raphael, as photographed in 1862 by Notman (with a very similar hat in his hand).

42. "The Prince's Arrival," *Montreal Herald*, 2.

43. Mario Béland, "Un peintre allemand à Montréal," *Cap-aux-Diamants*, no. 38 (Summer 1994): 65.

44. Jean-Claude Robert, "Urbanisation et population: Le cas de Montréal en 1861," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 35, no. 4 (1982): 523-24.

45. Jean Trudel, "Aux origines du Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal: La fondation de l'Art Association of Montreal en 1860," *Journal of Canadian Art History / Annales d'histoire de l'art Canadien* 15, no. 1 (1992): 38.

46. Jean Trudel, "Une élite et son musée," *Cap-aux-Diamants*, no. 25 (1991): 23.

47. Trudel, "Aux origines du Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal," 43-44.

48. Generally held in the exhibition space, a *conversazione* is enlivened by speeches and music, and guests are invited to take part in the various discussions. Jean Trudel, "Art Association of Montreal: Les années d'incertitude,

1863-1877," *Journal of Canadian Art History / Annales d'histoire de l'art Canadien* 29 (2008): 125. See also Anne-Élisabeth Vallée, *Napoléon Bourassa et la vie culturelle à Montréal au XIX^e siècle* (Montreal: Leméac, 2010), 49.

49. Goelman, "William Raphael," 41, 266n182.

50. William Raphael occasionally borrows money from Mr. Danziger. Goelman, "William Raphael," 44.

51. "Census of 1861, Canada East, district no. 38 Montreal, sub-district no. 14 Montreal (Saint-Louis-de-France)," 1861, RG31—Statistics Canada, microfilm C-1245, image 4108553_01219, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, <http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.redirect?app=census&id=44272157&lang=eng>. Goelman, "William Raphael," 44, 267n202.

52. Goelman, "William Raphael," 44.

53. "Engagement de William Raphael à Abner Bedee Taber," January 15, 1863, no. 8203, Joseph-E.-Odilon Labadie registry, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, Montreal.

54. *Mackay's Montreal Directory for 1863-1864* (J. Lovell, 1863), 286.

55. "Engagement de William Raphael à Abner Bedee Taber."

56. The term "speculative" is used to describe works that are not direct commissions. In other words, the artist produces his paintings without any guarantee of payment and then releases them to the market in the hope that a buyer will eventually be interested in acquiring them. For this notion of speculative production, see John Michael Montias, *Le marché de l'art aux Pays-Bas* (Paris: Flammarion, 1996), 33-37.

57. "The Fine Art Conversazione: Second Notice," *Gazette* (Montreal), February 13, 1864, 2. See also Hélène Sicotte, "L'implantation de la galerie d'art à Montréal: Le cas de W. Scott & Sons, 1859-1914. Comment la révision du concept d'oeuvre d'art autorisa la spécialisation du commerce d'art" (PhD diss., Université du Québec à Montréal, 2003), 246-47.

58. Trudel, "Art Association of Montreal," 125-27.

59. Quoted in Goelman, "William Raphael," 124, and in Trudel, "Art Association of Montreal," 127.

60. "Exhibition [...] Art Association," *Evening Telegraph and Daily Commercial Advertiser*, March 1, 1865, 4. At the third Art Association of Montreal exhibition, held in 1865, a reviewer noted: "Another Canadian artist (Raphael), not unknown to fame, perhaps one of the most thoroughly educated historical painters in Canada, we see slightly represented. His *Dog and Sleigh* is however a spirited little group, though we might have expected a second great work of local interest, like that of his *Bonsecours Market* which did such credit to Canadian art in our first Exhibition" (emphasis added).



61. Goelman, "William Raphael," 44-45.

62. "Exhibition [...] Art Association," 4.

63. "Art Notes," *The Gazette* (Montreal), July 10, 1869, 1.

64. *Mackay's Montreal Directory, for 1865-66* (J. Lovell, 1865), 257. Goelman, "William Raphael", 45. Suzanne LaFerrière, "Les visages du Plateau Mont-Royal," *Continuité*, no. 66 (Fall 1995): 15.

65. In 1866, the Raphaels moved to 303 German Street, and the following year, they moved to 302 German Street. *Mackay's Montreal Directory, for 1866-67* (J. Lovell, 1866), 268; *Mackay's Montreal Directory, for 1867-68* (J. Lovell, 1867), 271. German Street is now a section of Avenue de Hôtel-de-Ville.

66. "Provincial Exhibition," *Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette*, September 30, 1865, 2; "Liste des prix à l'Exhibition provinciale," *Le pays*, October 5, 1865, 2.

67. Allan Pringle, "Robert S. Duncanson in Montreal, 1863-1865," *The American Art Journal* 17, no. 4 (Autumn 1985): 30-33.

68. "Art in Continental States," *The Art Journal*, November 1, 1866, 330: "[T]he same artist has just completed another picture, entitled 'The Fortune Teller.' It carries us back to 'long, long ago;' and sets us down in a wood situated near an old castle, a glimpse of which may be had through the trees. In the foreground is an elderly man and his family, who are having the future unveiled to them by a gipsy fortune-teller, several of whose companions, in a variety of attitudes, are standing around. The picture displays considerable genius, and speaks well for the artist."

69. *Mackay's Montreal Directory, for 1866-67*, 268.

70. This vision of the benefits of artistic practice was supported by, for example, painter Napoléon Bourassa, when he wanted to set up drawing classes in Montreal in the early 1860s. See Anne-Élisabeth Vallée, "La contribution artistique, pédagogique et théorique de Napoléon Bourassa à la vie culturelle montréalaise entre 1855 et 1890," (PhD diss., Université du Québec à Montréal, 2009), 115-17.

71. The artist relocated his studio to 67 rue Saint James in 1867 and then to 171 rue Saint James in 1870. Between 1871 and 1873, his studio was located at 12 Place d'Armes. In 1875, Raphael announced that his studio was now located at 217 rue Saint James.

72. As shown in the city directories edited by Lovell and published between 1878 and 1883.

73. William Raphael does not appear to have been a founding member. The list of members, as printed in the Society of Canadian Artists' first catalogue

(published in 1868), does not mention Raphael by name, despite his participation in the exhibition. See Society of Canadian Artists, *First Exhibition 1868: Catalogue of Oil and Water Colour Paintings, Statuary, &c., Exhibited at the Gallery of the Art Association, at the Mercantile Library Building, Montreal, 23rd December, 1868* (Montreal: n.p., 1868).

74. "Chromo Lithographic Art," *Evening Star* (Montreal), October 12, 1870, 2.

75. Trudel, "Art Association of Montreal," 127.

76. "The Fine Arts," *Quebec Daily Mercury*, August 20, 1869, 2.

77. Gaëtan Gervais, "Le commerce de détail au Canada (1870-1888)," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 33, no. 4 (1980): 548.

78. This relationship was established in a text prepared by the Pointe-à-Callière Museum and published online. See "Portraits," Pointe-à-Callière Museum, <https://collections.pacmusee.qc.ca/en/objects/portrait-2018-001-001/>.

79. June Schachter, "William Osler and William Raphael," Osler Library, McGill University, *Osler Library Newsletter*, nos. 83-84 (1996-97), 1-3.

80. Between 2024 and 2025, research was conducted by library staff to locate this drawing. It was not possible to trace it in the collections, nor was it possible to find two other drawings by Raphael that were supposed to be there, as mentioned by June Schachter in her article.

81. In 1912, the Art Association of Montreal moved into a new building at 1380 Sherbrooke Street West. In 1948-49, the AAM changed its name to the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. Trudel, "Aux origines du Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal," 31.

82. "The New Art Gallery," *The Gazette* (Montreal), May 27, 1879, 2; Georges-Hébert Germain, *A City's Museum: A History of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts* (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 2007), 2.

83. Art Association of Montreal, *Ninth Exhibition 1879: Catalogue of Oil and Water Colour Paintings, Exhibited by the Association on the Occasion of the Opening of the Art Gallery, Phillips' Square May 26th, 1879* (Art Association of Montreal, 1879), no. 145.

84. Goelman, "William Raphael," 58.

85. Goelman, "William Raphael," 59. The other three paintings were *Pointe-au-Pic*, *Murray Bay*; *Tandem*; and *Habitant* (or *Preparing to Smoke*).

86. "Toronto," *Hamilton Spectator*, September 13, 1879, 1.

87. "Fine Arts," *Ottawa Daily Citizen*, September 23, 1879, 1.



88. "Ex Parte on the Application of William Raphael for Naturalization, Filed 22 August 1872," Citizenship Registration, Montreal Circuit Court, 1851 to 1945, RG 6 F3, volume 901, file 58, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=citregmtlccircou&ldNumber=2723&q_type_1=q&q_1=William%20Raphael&ecopy=vol901-00000058-00000001.

89. Goelman, "William Raphael," 59.

90. Jim Burant, *Ottawa Art & Artists: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: Art Canada Institute, 2022), 135.

91. "Ottawa—Opening of the Canadian Academy of Arts by His Excellency the Gov.-General," *Hamilton Spectator*, March 11, 1880, 3.

92. Goelman, "William Raphael," 60.

93. The other three works were by Marmaduke Matthews, Henry Sandham, and Thomas M. Martin.

94. "The Pictures of the Week," *Canadian Illustrated News*, April 10, 1880, 226.

95. "Personal," *Hamilton Spectator*, March 8, 1880, 4.

96. "A Gossip About the First Dominion Art Exhibition by an Unlearned Visitor," *Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly and National Review* 4 (January–June 1880), 552. The journalist noted two paintings by Raphael depicting a habitant. Strangely, the article states that "Mr. Gilmour, to whom they were sold, is to be congratulated on their acquisition." Since the newspapers had reported that the *Habitant* work was acquired by the Marquess of Lorne, the author of the article is probably mistaken. Perhaps the second work was actually acquired by this Mr. Gilmour.

97. Goelman, "William Raphael," 58–69.

98. Goelman, "William Raphael," 62.

99. Goelman, "William Raphael," 90–91.

100. Throughout his career, William Raphael produced only a handful of religious paintings, including *Sainte Famille* (Maison Saint-Gabriel) in 1882; *Le Purgatoire visité par la Vierge* (Sisters of Sainte-Anne) in 1894; two pendants, each depicting an angel, for the chapel of the Sisters of Sainte-Anne (Musée de Lachine), in 1897; and a representation of the Virgin for the Congrégation de Notre-Dame, around 1909. Similarly, a painting of the Annunciation can be seen behind the artist in a photograph showing Raphael in his studio, c.1890 (fig. 85). Goelman, "William Raphael," 98–99, 184–87.

101. "Art Education," *The Gazette* (Montreal), December 11, 1880, 3.

102. "Art Education," *The Gazette* (Montreal).

103. "Art Education," *The Gazette* (Montreal).

104. According to a note preserved at the McCord Stewart Museum, Dr. J.H. Jacobs identified this chief as A-wen-na-ni-io, grandfather of Sa-ron-he-se Deer and Madame Joseph D'Ailleboust.

105. "Picturesque Canada," *The Gazette* (Montreal), May 10, 1882, 5. The article praises the "wonderfully natural" aspect of William Raphael's work.

106. Michel Dreyfus, "Durant l'affaire Dreyfus (1894-1906)," in *L'antisémitisme à gauche: Histoire d'un paradoxe, de 1830 à nos jours* (Paris: La Découverte, 2011), 69-97.

107. Isaac Besht Bendavid, "Goldwin Smith and the Jews," *North American Review* 153, no. 418 (1891): 259.

108. Alan Mendelson, "Grip Magazine and 'the Other': The Genteel Antisemitism of J.W. Bengough," *Histoire sociale / Social History* 40, no. 79 (2007): 1-44.

109. Michael Brown, "From Stereotype to Scapegoat: Anti-Jewish Sentiment in French Canada from Confederation to World War I," in *Jew or Juif? Jews, French Canadians, and Anglo-Canadians: 1759-1914* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1986), 55.

110. Alan Mendelson, *Exiles from Nowhere: The Jews and the Canadian Elite* (Montreal: Robin Brass Studio, 2008), 11-13.

111. "Art Association of Montreal, Council Meetings," September 6, 1882, Archives of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal.

112. From the earliest years of the South Kensington Museum's educational program in the mid-nineteenth century, the institution was a model to follow in the British colony. In Canada West (Ontario), it was supported by educator Egerton Ryerson (1803-1882), who emphasized its value in various publications. See Ellen Louise Ramsay, "The Promotion of the Fine Arts in Canada, 1880-1924: The Development of Art Patronage and the Formation of Public Policy" (PhD diss., University College London, 1987), 36.

113. "The Art Exhibition," *The Gazette* (Montreal), April 16, 1883, 3.

114. Brymner offered the first course of this kind in 1889 at the Art Association of Montreal. See Jocelyn Anderson, *William Brymner: Life & Work* (Toronto: Art Canada Institute, 2020), 14.

115. "Montreal Society of Decorative Art," *Montreal Star*, October 17, 1881, 2; "Montreal Society of Decorative Art," *The Gazette* (Montreal), May 28, 1883, 3; "Decorative Art," *Gazette* (Montreal), May 27, 1884, 3.

116. "Mrs. Lovell's Young Ladies Institute," *Montreal Star*, June 13, 1884, 3.



117. Goelman, "William Raphael," 63-64.
118. *Lovell's Montreal Directory, for 1884-85* (Lovell, 1884), 563.
119. "W. Raphael's Classes," *Montreal Star*, September 16, 1884, 1. The ad was repeated on September 18, 22, 23, and 29, as well as on October 2, 6, 9, and 11.
120. The last ad appeared in the *Montreal Star* on September 26, 1908.
121. "Exhibition of Drawings," *Montreal Star*, June 6, 1885, 8.
122. "The Art Exhibition," *The Gazette* (Montreal), June 9, 1885, 3.
123. "Our Artists at Work," *Montreal Star*, March 14, 1885, 2.
124. Anderson, *William Brymner: Life & Work*, 13-14.
125. "The Royal Canadian Academy," *Montreal Star*, February 22, 1886, 2; "Montreal's Art Gallery," *The Gazette* (Montreal), June 3, 1886, 7.
126. "The Art Gallery," *The Gazette* (Montreal), June 5, 1886, 4.
127. "The Art Gallery," *The Gazette* (Montreal), June 18, 1886, 5.
128. Anderson, *William Brymner: Life & Work*, 7.
129. Hélène Sicotte, "William Brymner: A Remarkably Sociable Man," in *William Brymner: Artist, Teacher, Colleague*, eds. Alicia Boutilier and Paul Maréchal (Kingston, ON: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, Queen's University, 2010), 23.
130. See, in particular, a lecture from 1895 in which Brymner develops a point about bad chromolithographs, which seems to be directed at Raphael, who was recognized for his success translating his works into this medium. Moreover, Brymner discusses the detestable use of these images for educational purposes, through copying. He says: "Copies of meritless or good chromolithographs teach nothing, lead to nothing and to worse than nothing." It is worth noting that four years earlier, one of Raphael's students, a Mrs Pinkerton, had earned praise for her copy of the painting *The Angelus* by Jean-François Millet (1814-1875), which was probably produced with the help of an image. "Mr. Brymner on Drawing," *Montreal Star*, March 28, 1895, 5; "The Angelus," *Montreal Star*, September 11, 1891, 4.
131. Goelman, "William Raphael," 79-80.
132. Goelman, "William Raphael," 64-69.
133. "The Picture Market," *Daily Witness*, March 14, 1888, 5.

134. Monique Nadeau-Saumier, "Un espace et un lieu de culture. Le Art Building de Sherbrooke 1887-1927 (PhD diss., Université du Québec à Montréal, 2007), 317-19.

135. Contrary to what has been suggested in the literature (see Goelman, "William Raphael," 81), Raphael was never a teacher at the Conseil des arts et des manufactures. This institution actually hired the dealer Henry William Raphael in 1904. See "In and Around the City," *Montreal Star*, May 24, 1904, 11.

136. As quoted in Goelman, "William Raphael," 100.

137. Goelman, "William Raphael," 121.

138. "Montreal Artist Dead—Mr. William Raphael Was 81 Years Old," *The Gazette* (Montreal), March 16, 1914, 8; "Wm. Raphael, Artist, Dead," *Montreal Star*, March 16, 1914, 2; "Wm. Raphael Dead," *Toronto Star*, March 16, 1914, 4; "William Raphael," *American Art News* 12, no. 24 (March 21, 1914), 4.

KEY WORKS: HAYMARKET SQUARE / VICTORIA SQUARE

1. Laurier Lacroix produced a study of this work for the Klinkhoff gallery. This section of the text is based on that study. As the author points out, the first market was established in 1810 by curators James McGill, Jon Richardson, and Jean-Marie Mondelet. This was the Place des Commissaires. In 1841, this area was turned into a park, and an adjoining site was purchased for use as a commercial space called Beaver Square. Beaver Square became Victoria Square in 1860. The hay market remained in operation here until it was relocated to a larger space in 1865.

2. Jonathan Cha, "Formes et sens des squares victoriens montréalais dans le contexte de développement de la métropole (1801-1914)" (PhD diss., Université du Québec à Montréal / Université Paris-Est, 2013), 103-107.

3. Guy Pinard, *Montréal: Son histoire, son architecture* (Montreal: La Presse, 1987), 192-93.

4. Karim Wagih Fawzi Youssef, "Le développement morphologique du Square Victoria à Montréal" (master's thesis, Université de Montréal, 2002), 28.

KEY WORKS: BEHIND BONSECOURS MARKET, MONTREAL

1. "Exposition provinciale," *Journal de Québec*, September 27, 1865, 2.

2. "Exposition provinciale," *Journal de Québec*, 2.

3. "L'exposition," *La Minerve*, September 27, 1865, 2.

4. See, in particular, Napoléon Bourassa, *Influence du sentiment religieux sur l'art*, unpublished manuscript, n.d., Library and Archives Canada, Fonds Napoléon-Bourassa (R7636-0-3-F). This manuscript was reproduced as an appendix to Anne-Élisabeth Vallée, "La contribution artistique, pédagogique et théorique de Napoléon Bourassa à la vie culturelle montréalaise entre 1855 et 1890" (PhD diss., Université du Québec à Montréal, 2009), 505-30.



5. Napoléon Bourassa, "Causerie artistique sur l'exposition de l'Art Association," *La Revue Canadienne* 2, no. 3 (March 1865): 171.

6. "Provincial Exhibition," *Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette*, September 30, 1865, 2.

7. "Art in Continental States," *The Art Journal*, October 1, 1866, 306.

8. "Art in Continental States," *The Art Journal*, November 1, 1866, 330.

9. Dennis Reid, *Our Own Country Canada: Being an Account of the National Aspirations of Principal Landscape Artists in Montreal and Toronto 1860-1890* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada / National Museums of Canada, 1979), 88.

10. Reid, *Our Own Country Canada*, 89. Reid suggests that the figure at the centre of the composition, holding a portfolio, could be the artist. The idea is taken up by David Burnett in *Masterpieces of Canadian Art from the National Gallery of Canada* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1990). When this work is compared with photographic portraits of William Raphael, however, there does not appear to be any clear resemblance to the painter.

KEY WORKS: THE EARLY BIRD PICKS UP THE WORM

1. A critic of the *Gazette* described the image as follows: "[A] successful beggar emerges from a doorway, where he encounters a lazier comrade who arrives too late." See "Society of Canadian Artists," 2.

2. "Chromo Lithography," *Montreal Witness*, 4, March 13, 1869.

3. "La Chromo-Lithographie en Canada," *Le Pays*, March 15, 1869, 2. Also of note is a highly complimentary article in the *Montreal Herald* that also credits Reinhold: "Chromo Lithography," *Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette*, March 8, 1869, 2.

4. "Chromo Lithography," *Montreal Witness*, 4.

5. They won first prize for lithographic drawings at the Montreal Provincial Exhibition in 1865. See "Provincial Exhibition," *Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette*, September 30, 1865, 2.

6. In fact, according to the newspaper *Le Pays*, chromolithography "required the use of fifteen or twenty lithographic stones" to reproduce Raphael's work in colour in several stages. "La Chromo-Lithographie en Canada," 2.

7. "No other such set is known to exist," states Canadian print specialist Rosemarie L. Tovell. See National Gallery of Canada Archives, work file no. 37168.1-21, acquisition justification signed by Rosemarie L. Tovell, dated November 1993. Moreover, as the expert also points out, the series of prints in the National Gallery of Canada's collection is believed to have come from the personal estates of Reinhold or Roberts.



KEY WORKS: TANDEM

1. "Artistic," *Evening Star* (Montreal), January 29, 1869, 2.
2. Mario Béland, "Avant la dernière tempête," *Cap-aux-Diamants*, no. 53 (1998): 59.
3. Will H. Whyte, "Sleighing," *Outing* 13, no. 5 (February 1889): 387-91; Lucinda M. Fisher, "Montreal Sleighing Memories," *Carriage Journal* 27, no. 3 (Winter 1989): 107-11
4. The 1878 work was exhibited at the 1879 Ontario Society of Artists show in Toronto. Goelman, "William Raphael," 59.

KEY WORKS: THE MCFARLANE CHILDREN

1. Mario Béland, "Théophile Hamel et les portraits d'enfants," *Cap-aux-Diamants*, no. 143 (Fall 2020): 57-59.
2. Two other works signed by Inglis and Raphael, dated 1872, are kept in the collection of the Musée d'art de Joliette. They are portraits of an unidentified couple, presented as pendants.
3. See a study of the painting by Victoria A. Baker, dated August 19, 1987. This acquisition record is kept in the work file at the National Gallery of Canada (29786).

KEY WORKS: HABITANT (OR PREPARING TO SMOKE)

1. Based on the 1881 Canadian census, this could be Jean-Baptiste Sarrasin, a farmer residing in Saint-Didace, in the Maskinongé district. "Census of 1881, Quebec, district no. 85 Maskinongé, sub-district Saint-Didace (J)," 1881, RG31—Statistics Canada, microfilm C-13214, image e008157833, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/home/record?app=census&ldNumber=22038803&ecopy=e008157833>.
2. Michel Lessard, *La nouvelle encyclopédie des antiquités du Québec* (Montreal: Les Éditions de l'Homme, 2007), 334-35.
3. Lessard, *La nouvelle encyclopédie des antiquités du Québec*, 60-61.
4. "Exhibition of Canadian Art," *The Canadian Spectator* 3, no. 18 (May 1, 1880): 210.
5. "Personal," *Hamilton Spectator*, March 8, 1880, 4.
6. George Monro Grant, *Picturesque Canada: The Country as It Was and Is* (Toronto: James Clarke, 1882), 62.
7. Grant, *Picturesque Canada*, 80, 112.

KEY WORKS: INDIAN ENCAMPMENT ON THE LOWER ST. LAWRENCE

1. "Ontario Society of Artists. Seventh Annual Exhibition," *Globe*, May 20, 1879, 3.

2. "Academy of Arts," *Globe*, March 9, 1880, 3.

3. Laurier Lacroix, "Montreal and the Origins of the Canadian Academy of Arts," *Vie des arts* 24, no. 98 (1980): 23.

KEY WORKS: DR. RODDICK'S REMARKABLE CASE OF FAVUS, SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE SCABS AND THE EXTENT OF THE ERUPTION ON THE BODY

1. Charles G. Roland, "Osler, Sir William," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 14 (University of Toronto / Université Laval, 1998), 871-876, https://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/osler_william_14E.html.

2. As revealed in a letter from William Osler to William Raphael, dated February 7, 1885: "The drawing is lovely but there are one or two points I wish touched up. Dr. Sutherland will take the heart to you and show you. I want the drawing to get off by Thursday Eve to London." Letter quoted in Goelman, "William Raphael," 220.

3. Johann Friedrich Unger, ed., *Reglement für die Akademie der bildenden Künste und mechanischen Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1790), 20.

4. The letter was transcribed by June Schachter and published in her article "William Osler and William Raphael," *Osler Library*, McGill University, *Osler Library Newsletter*, nos. 83-84 (1996-97), 2. In the article, she presents two letters signed by the doctor and addressed to William Raphael; both are preserved in the Osler Library archives at McGill University.

5. Schachter, "William Osler and William Raphael," 2. The original drawing of "Atresia of pulmonary artery, with patent Ductus Arteriosus" was preserved in the archives of the Osler Library at McGill University. According to Schachter, the work was signed by Raphael and dated 1878. The author also highlights two other anatomical drawings by William Raphael, dated 1880 and 1882. None of these three drawings could be traced during a search of the archives carried out by staff in 2024 and 2025.

6. William Raphael, *Boy Standing in Profile*, November 14, 1854. From "Sketchbook No. 2," folio 23r, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa (inv. 18088.23r).

KEY WORKS: SAWMILL AND HYDRAULIC DAM

1. Ellen Louise Ramsay, "The Promotion of the Fine Arts in Canada, 1880-1924: The Development of Art Patronage and the Formation of Public Policy," (PhD diss., University College London, 1987), 108-12.

2. Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, *Catalogue of the Exhibition in the Toronto Art Gallery* 7, no. 72 (n.p., 1891).

3. "The Art Exhibition," *Daily Witness*, April 22, 1894, 6.



SIGNIFICANCE & CRITICAL ISSUES

1. Jonathan Wagner, *A History of Migration from Germany to Canada, 1850-1939* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), 22-23.
2. Wagner, *A History of Migration*, 36-39.
3. Wagner, *A History of Migration*, 25.
4. Loren Lerner and Suzanne Rackover, "Jews and Canadian Art," in *Canada's Jews: In Time, Space and Spirit*, ed. Ira Robinson (Boston: Academic Studies, 2013), 422-23.
5. The drawing is preserved at the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, in William Raphael's "Sketchbook No. 2," folio 6v (inv. 18088.6v).
6. Jens Neumann-Schliski, "Un programme commun? Conceptions de l'identité juive dans les Archives israélites et l'Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums, 1840-1881," in *Expériences croisées: Juifs de France et d'Allemagne aux XIXe et XXe siècles*, ed. Heidi Knörzer (Paris: Éditions de l'Éclat, 2010), 45.
7. Michael Brown, "The American Connection of Canadian Jews: 1759-1914," *AJS Review* 3 (1978): 60-61.
8. On Abraham de Sola, see Brown, "The American Connection of Canadian Jews," 51-60; Pierre Anctil, *History of the Jews in Quebec* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2021), 43-45.
9. Sharon Goelman, "William Raphael," R.C.A. (1833-1914)" (master's thesis, Concordia University, 1978), 44, 140.
10. Goelman, "William Raphael," 41-42, 140, 361, fig. 365.
11. Anctil, *History of the Jews in Quebec*, 35.
12. Lerner and Rackover, "Jews and Canadian Art," 423.
13. "Temple Emanu-El Fair," *The Gazette* (Montreal), November 28, 1882, 3; Aline Gubbay, *A View of Their Own: The Story of Westmount* (Montreal: Price-Patterson Ltd., 1998), 73; Goelman, "William Raphael," 255-56n20.
14. "Acknowledgments," *The Gazette* (Montreal), March 11, 1892, 3.
15. "Chanukah Festival," *The Gazette* (Montreal), December 17, 1895, 2.
16. "Chanukah Festival," *The Gazette* (Montreal), 2.
17. John H. Graham, *Outlines of the History of Freemasonry in the Province of Quebec* (Montreal, John Lovell & Son, 1892).
18. Thomas Sargant, *The Freemason's Manual: Containing the First, Second and Third Degrees of Freemasonry* (Toronto: Masonic Publishing Co., 1880), 5.



19. Luc Nefontaine, *La franc-maçonnerie: Une fraternité révélée* (Paris: Découvertes Gallimard, 1994), 44-47.
20. José A. Ferrer Benimeli, "Première condamnation papale, des motivations politiques," *Humanisme* 278, no. 3 (September 2007): 82-83.
21. Goelman, "William Raphael," 44.
22. Goelman, "William Raphael," 45.
23. Édouard Hamon (using the pseudonym Jean D'Erbrée), *La franc-maçonnerie dans la province de Québec en 1883* (n.p., 1883?), 78.
24. Hélène Sicotte, "François Beaucourt (1740-1794) et ses alentours," *Journal of Canadian Art History / Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien* 31, no. 1 (2010): 14-59; Marie-Chantal Leblanc, "Formation artistique et contexte social des peintres canadiens à Paris (1887-1895)" (master's thesis, Université du Québec à Montréal, 2008), 80.
25. Hamon, *La franc-maçonnerie dans la province de Québec*, 64.
26. Hamon, *La franc-maçonnerie dans la province de Québec*, 204.
27. *Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Ancient and Accepted Masons of Canada at Two Especial Communications Held at the City of Ottawa, Also at Its Twelfth Annual Communication Held at the City of Kingston* (Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons of Canada, 1867), 386-87. Among the expenses for 1866, we note the payment, on December 29, of \$30.50 on behalf of the Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons of Canada to "W. Notman, for portrait of P.G.M. Simpson."
28. The original portrait of McGillivray, which served as William Raphael's model, is in the McCord Stewart Museum (M18682) and was painted before 1784 by an unknown artist.
29. Pierre B. Landry, "Sandham, Henry," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol 13 (University of Toronto / Université Laval, 1994), https://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/sandham_henry_13F.html
30. Sharon Goelman pointed out in her master's thesis that there were numerous invitations to balls and receptions addressed to the artist and hosted by the governor general. Goelman, "William Raphael," 270n11.
31. Moncrieff Williamson, "Harris, Robert," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 14 (University of Toronto / Université Laval, 1998), 494, https://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/harris_robert_14F.html.
32. Goelman, "William Raphael," 67-68.



33. "The Art Gallery," *The Gazette* (Montreal), June 5, 1886, 4.
34. "The Art Association," *Daily Witness*, October 15, 1904, 12.
35. I would like to thank Zoë Tousignant for suggesting this line of research during a conversation at the McCord-Stewart Museum in November 2023. I am also grateful to Sharon Goelman for sharing her opinion on this matter in August 2024, which confirmed my research.
36. Michel Tissier, *L'Empire russe en révolutions: Du tsarisme à l'URSS* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2019), 16, 26-27.
37. Richard Pipes, *Russia Under the Old Regime* (New York: Scribner's, 1974).
38. Delphine Diaz, *En exil: Les réfugiés en Europe, de la fin du XVIIIe siècle à nos jours* (Paris: Gallimard, 2021), 155.
39. Anctil, *History of the Jews in Quebec*, 35.
40. Anctil, *History of the Jews in Quebec*, 35.
41. Michael Brown, "Divergent Paths: Early Zionism in Canada and the United States," *Jewish Social Studies* 44, no. 2 (1982): 158.
42. Duncan Bell, *The Idea of Greater Britain: Empire and the Future of World Order, 1860-1900* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), 182; Naomi W. Cohen, "American Jewish Reactions to Anti-Semitism in Western Europe, 1875-1900," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 45 (1978): 52.
43. Alan Mendelson, *Exiles from Nowhere. The Jews and the Canadian Elite* (Montreal, Robin Brass Studio, 2008), 19.
44. Isaac Besht Bendavid, "Goldwin Smith and the Jews," *North American Review* 153, no. 418 (1891): 259.
45. Cohen, "American Jewish Reactions to Anti-Semitism," 32.
46. "A Reply to Beaconsfield," *The Gazette* (Montreal), October 22, 1881, 2; "Goldwin Smith Answered," *New York Times*, November 24, 1881, 6; Bendavid, "Goldwin Smith and the Jews." This anti-Semitism was also felt by Jews in the United States during the same period. See Cohen, "American Jewish Reactions to Anti-Semitism," 36.
47. Goelman, "William Raphael," 71-72.
48. Mendelson, *Exiles from Nowhere*, 2-3.
49. Mendelson, *Exiles from Nowhere*, 2-4.

50. Malcolm Ross, "Goldwin Smith," *Our Living Tradition*, Claude T. Bissell, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), 44-45.
51. Goelman, "William Raphael," 88-90.
52. "Eliock School," *The Gazette* (Montreal), July 25, 1893, 5. The announcement is repeated in the same paper on July 26, 1893, as well as on August 14, 23, and 26, 1893. This is probably the institution where he taught Allan J. Hart. See Goelman, "William Raphael," 106.
53. Monique Nadeau-Saumier, "Un espace et un lieu de culture. Le Art Building de Sherbrooke 1887-1927 (PhD diss., Université du Québec à Montréal, 2007), 317-19.
54. "An Art Exhibition of Merit," *Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette*, 5.
55. "An Art Exhibition of Merit," 5.
56. The plasters were most likely sold, along with thousands of other furniture pieces, objects, and artworks, during sales held by the Sisters of Sainte-Anne between 2019 and 2021. Their current location remains unknown.
57. "An Art Exhibition of Merit," *Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette*, 5.
58. These two works are currently part of Jonathan Wener's collection: William Raphael, *The Habitant*, c. 1875, oil on canvas, 26,7 x 20,3 cm, collection of Jonathan Wener; William Raphael, *Portrait of Habitant in Red Toque*, 1906, oil on canvas, 30,5 x 22,9 cm, collection of Jonathan Wener.
59. "An Art Exhibition of Merit," *Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette*, 5.
60. Raphael's work, *Sunset in Beaufort*, was created in 1878 and copied in 1907 by Sister Marie- Hélène-de-la-Croix as *Sunset and Church Steeple*. Both paintings were formerly held at the Sisters of Sainte-Anne Historic Centre.
61. Quoted in Goelman, "William Raphael," 95.
62. "The Art Exhibition," *The Gazette* (Montreal), April 16, 1883, 3.
63. Goelman, "William Raphael," 96.
64. "Art News," *The Gazette* (Montreal), December 17, 1880, 5.
65. Victoria A. Baker, *Scenes of Charlevoix 1784-1950* (Montreal: Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal, 1981), 13-15.
66. "The Fine Arts Bay," *Quebec Daily Mercury*, August 20, 1869, 2.



67. Society of Canadian Artists, *Second Exhibition 1870: Catalogue of Oil and Water Colour Paintings, Exhibited at the Gallery of the Art Association at the Mercantile Library Building, Montreal* (n.p., 1870), 6, no. 57.

68. "Murray Bay," *Montreal Star*, August 20, 1887, 6

69. "Art Education," *The Gazette* (Montreal), December 11, 1880, 3.

STYLE & TECHNIQUE

1. Sharon Goelman, "William Raphael, R.C.A. (1833-1914)" (master's thesis, Concordia University, 1978), 122.

2. Michelle Facos, *An Introduction to Nineteenth Century Art* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 173-75.

3. Geraldine Norman, *Biedermeier Painting 1815-1848: Reality Observed in Genre, Portrait and Landscape* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987), 8-10.

4. Norman, *Biedermeier Painting*, 8.

5. Norman, *Biedermeier Painting*, 76; Claude Keisch, ed., *The Alte Nationalgalerie Berlin* (London: Scala Publishers, 2005), 53, 56.

6. Marlène Grenier, "Les artistes propagateurs de l'idéal allemand en art pictural et en sculpture au Canada au XIXe siècle" (master's thesis, Université Laval, 1996), 65-66; Norman, *Biedermeier Painting*, 128-29, 142.

7. Mario Béland, "Un peintre allemand à Montréal," *Cap-aux-Diamants*, no. 38 (summer 1994): 65; Grenier "Les artistes propagateurs," 80-81.

8. Mario Béland, "De Berczy à Krieghoff: Peintres étrangers au Bas-Canada 1790-1850," *Vie des Arts* 37, no. 149 (1992): 17.

9. Michel Lessard, *The Livernois Photographers* (Musée du Québec / Québec Agenda, 1987), 306n27. In his text, the author does not define the links between the photographer and the painter.

10. Norman, *Biedermeier Painting*, 24.

11. The illustration *Rural Bliss*, taken from the *Montreal Daily Witness* newspaper, in a special Carnival issue, is preserved in the McCord-Stewart Museum collection (inv. M979.87.5101.1).

12. Henry Sandham's painting (*Tobogganing, Winter Scene in Montreal*, 1885) is preserved at the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa (inv. 16642), while Boisseau's work (*La Descente en toboggan*, 1881) is at the Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec, Quebec City (inv. 1980.115).

13. "Art in Continental States," *The Art Journal*, October 1, 1866, 306.

14. "Art in Continental States", 306.



15. The chromolithographs are preserved at Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa (inv. 2878655 and 2878656).
16. "Art in Ottawa," *Montreal Star*, February 6, 1886, 6.
17. "The Art Exhibition," *Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette*, April 21, 1887, 8.
18. To date, Raphael's *A Difficult Problem* has not been traced.
19. Norman, *Biedermeier Painting*, 129.
20. Norman, *Biedermeier Painting*, 8.
21. "The Fine Arts," *Quebec Daily Mercury*, August 20, 1869, 2.
22. William Raphael was probably the first teacher in Canada to give *plein air* drawing and painting classes. He was a few years ahead of William Brymner, who offered the first such course in 1889 at the Art Association of Montreal. See Jocelyn Anderson, *William Brymner: His Life and Work* (Toronto: Art Canada Institute, 2020), 14.
23. "The Art Gallery," *Daily Witness*, April 11, 1883, 8: "The original character in this sketch showed great amusement at having been captured without his knowledge and exhibited by his companion and preceptor."
24. Abbé Jules-Bernardin-Royal Rioux copied William Raphael's work between 1885 and 1895. As Michel Lessard suggests, this is a self-portrait by Rioux. See Michel Lessard, *La nouvelle encyclopédie des antiquités du Québec* (Montreal: Les Éditions de l'Homme, 2007), 498.
25. "The Art Exhibition," *The Gazette* (Montreal), April 16, 1883, 3.
26. The painting was described in the newspaper in 1885. "Our Artists at Work," *Montreal Star*, March 14, 1885, 2.
27. "Art in Canada," *The Gazette* (Montreal), February 6, 1886, 2.

GLOSSARY

academic tradition

Associated with the royal academies of art established in France and England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries respectively, the academic tradition emphasized drawing, painting, and sculpture in a style highly influenced by ancient classical art. Subject matter for painting was hierarchically ranked, with history painting of religious, mythological, allegorical, and historical figures holding the position of greatest importance, followed, in order, by genre painting, portraiture, still lifes, and landscapes.

Académie Julian

A private art school established by Rodolphe Julian in Paris in 1868. Among the many Canadian artists who studied there are Maurice Cullen, J.W. Morrice, Marc-Aurèle de Foy Suzor-Coté, A.Y. Jackson, and Clarence Gagnon.

ambrotype

A photographic process consisting of a collodion positive on glass backed by an opaque material and held in a hinged case. Ambrotypes largely replaced daguerreotypes (with which they are easily confused) in the late 1850s and were themselves replaced in the 1860s by cheaper tintypes and cartes-de-visite.

Art Association of Montreal

An institution founded in 1860 by Bishop Francis Fulford and a group of Montreal art collectors as an offshoot of the Montreal Society of Artists (itself dating to 1847). The Art Association of Montreal organized art shows throughout the city before establishing its permanent headquarters in downtown Montreal. In 1950, it was renamed the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, now one of the most visited art museums in Canada.

Barbizon

From the 1830s to the 1870s, Barbizon (a village on the edge of the forest of Fontainebleau near Paris) was a gathering place for French landscape painters who rejected the academic style in favour of realism. This informal group, later known as the Barbizon School, emphasized painting *en plein air*, in and directly from nature, setting the path for Impressionism. Major artists include Théodore Rousseau, Jean-François Millet, and Camille Corot.

Baroque

The Baroque is a style of art popular during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries characterized by exaggerated movement, grandeur, and expression. Originating in Rome, it was the Catholic Church's response to the Protestant Reformation, which privileged an austere spiritual engagement with the divine. In the Baroque, in contrast to Classicism, disorder replaces order and the effect is one of delusional grandeur.

Bell-Smith, F.M. (British/Canadian, 1846–1923)

A prolific watercolour and oil painter best known today for his landscapes and especially for his views of the Rocky and Selkirk mountain ranges. The English-born Bell-Smith studied art in London before immigrating in 1867 to Canada, where he worked and taught in Montreal, Hamilton, Toronto, and elsewhere in



southern Ontario. He made his first visit to British Columbia in 1887 on free passes supplied by the Canadian Pacific Railway, and his intense engagement with the mountains would draw him back several times over the next three decades.

Biedermeier

An artistic movement that emerged from the expanding bourgeoisie and their staid culture and family life in Central Europe (particularly Germany and Austria) between the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 and the Revolutions of 1848. Biedermeier paintings, whether landscapes, portraits, or genre scenes of everyday domestic activities, are known for their sentimentality.

Boisseau, Alfred (French, 1823–1901)

Alfred Boisseau was a renowned Parisian painter and photographer who immigrated to the United States around 1844. He achieved recognition in New Orleans in the 1840s for his paintings of Indigenous peoples before becoming a daguerreotypist in Cleveland in the 1850s. He moved to Canada in 1861 and operated three studios in Montreal before relocating to Manitoba.

Bouchardon, Edmé (French, 1698–1762)

Born in Chaumont, Edmé Bouchardon was a celebrated sculptor and draftsman who served as a royal artist to Louis XV, producing significant sculptures for the gardens of Versailles. Bouchardon's work is considered a precursor to neoclassicism, though his later pieces included rococo elements. He was also known for his life drawings.

Bouguereau, William (French, 1825–1905)

A painter known for his academic approach to his craft, Bouguereau was arguably one of the most famous artists in France during his time. Many of his highly realist paintings were mythological and allegorical, and his interpretation of human subject matter was sentimental.

Bourassa, Napoléon (Canadian, 1827–1916)

Napoléon Bourassa was an architect, writer, painter, and sculptor. During his long career, he directed numerous church construction and decoration projects in French Canada. Of these, the most complex is Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes in Montreal. He was influenced by Michelangelo, Raphael, Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, and Hippolyte Flandrin. Between 1870 and 1904, he designed and decorated eight churches.

Brymner, William (Scottish/Canadian, 1855–1925)

A painter and influential teacher who contributed greatly to the development of painting in Canada, William Brymner taught at the Art Association of Montreal. Several of his students, including A.Y. Jackson, Edwin Holgate, and Prudence Heward, became prominent figures in Canadian art. (See *William Brymner: Life & Work* by Jocelyn Anderson.)

caricature

Most commonly applied to portraiture, caricature distorts or exaggerates characteristic physical features of a subject for comic or critical effect. Perhaps the most celebrated caricaturist was French artist Honoré Daumier.

chromolithograph

A colour lithograph, popular from the mid-nineteenth century for book illustrations and print portfolios. Chromolithographs were produced through the use of numerous lithographic stones, each of which was inked with one of the colours needed for the final print.

composite photograph

Created by photographers using a cut-and-paste technique, primarily in the nineteenth century—when exposure times were long and outdoor photography was difficult—composite photographs were a means of guaranteeing that each figure in a group photograph was sharp, visible, well posed, and had a pleasing facial expression.

Cresswell, William (British/Canadian, 1818–1888)

A British-born painter who immigrated to Canada in 1848. Travelling extensively throughout the country, William Cresswell earned renown for his oil and watercolour landscapes and coastal scenes. His work influenced the early careers of fellow artists Robert Ford Gagen and George Agnew Reid.

Cullen, Maurice (Canadian, 1866–1934)

Like many Canadian painters of his generation, Maurice Cullen received his early art education in Montreal, then moved to Paris to continue his studies at the Académie Julian, the Académie Colarossi, and the École des beaux-arts. He was influenced by Impressionism, and his landscapes, in turn, influenced a younger generation of Canadian painters, including the Group of Seven. His winter landscapes and snowy urban scenes are considered his most impressive achievement.

daguerreotype

Among the earliest type of photograph, the finely detailed daguerreotype image is formed on the mirrored surface of a sheet of silver-plated copper. The process is extremely complex and finicky, but these photographs were nonetheless phenomenally popular from the time of their invention, by Louis Daguerre in 1839, up until the 1850s.

Doane, Thomas Coffin (Canadian, 1814–1896)

Born in Barrington, Nova Scotia, Thomas Coffin Doane (often credited as T.C. Doane and not to be confused with Nova Scotia politician Thomas Coffin) learned the daguerreotype photography process in Halifax from artist William Valentine and was a successful photographer in Montreal from the 1840s to the 1860s. He was known for his portraits of prominent Canadians, including Lord Elgin and Louis-Joseph Papineau.

Duncan, James (Northern Irish/Canadian, 1806–1881)

James Duncan was a painter, lithographer, and drawing teacher who was born in Coleraine and immigrated to Lower Canada in 1825. He achieved renown for his many oil, gouache, and watercolour views of Montreal and established himself as the major chronicler of the city in the mid-nineteenth century.

Edson, Aaron Allan (Canadian, 1846–1888)

A leading landscape painter of his day, Edson spent time living and studying in England, Scotland, and France at various points in his life, but otherwise centred his career in Montreal and in Quebec's Eastern Townships. His early interest in vivid detail was augmented by his rich and sophisticated sense of colour, and by his poetic experiments with the depiction of light. Edson was a founding member of the Society of Canadian Artists (1867). His death at the age of forty-one cut short one of the most accomplished artistic careers of his day in Canada.

en plein air

French for "in the open air," *en plein air* is used to describe the practice of painting or sketching outdoors to observe nature, and especially the changing effects of weather, atmosphere, and light.

Fraser, John Arthur (British/Canadian, 1838–1898)

A painter, photographer, illustrator, and art teacher born in England. Upon immigrating to Canada around 1860, John Arthur Fraser began painting studio backdrops for photographer William Notman, becoming a partner in Notman's Toronto firm in 1867.

Freemasonry

The practices and institutions of the Free and Accepted Masons (Freemasons), the oldest and largest secret society in the world. Bound by oaths and devoted to fellowship, moral discipline, and mutual assistance, the Freemasons arose from medieval stonemason guilds and draw on an elaborate system of hierarchies, rituals, and symbols.

Gagnon, Clarence (Canadian, 1881–1942)

Although he travelled and lived in Europe periodically throughout his career, Clarence Gagnon is best known for his paintings of the people and landscapes of his native Quebec, and particularly the Charlevoix region. A virtuosic colourist, Gagnon created highly original winter scenes in vivid hues, with generous play between light and dark. He is also known for illustrating books such as *Maria Chapdelaine* by Louis Hémon (1913) and *Le grand silence blanc* by L.F. Rouquette (1928).

genre painting

This term refers to paintings that depict scenes of everyday life. Genre paintings were first popularized in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century, and typical subject matter includes domestic chores, rural life, and socializing.

Hamel, Théophile (Canadian, 1817–1870)

Hamel rose from humble beginnings to become the most important painter in mid-nineteenth-century Canada. At sixteen he was apprenticed to Antoine Plamondon, a Quebec master of European-style painting, and he later spent three years in Italy, France, and England. He was appointed official portraitist of the United Canadas in 1853.

Harris, Robert (Welsh/Canadian, 1849–1919)



Born in Tyn-y-Groes, Wales, Robert Harris immigrated to Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, with his family in 1856. He studied at art schools in Boston, London, and Paris and quickly became one of the best-known portrait painters in Canada in the late 1800s, revered especially for the group portrait *The Fathers of Confederation*, 1884. He was president of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts from 1893 to 1906.

Hogarth, William (British, 1697–1764)

Born in London, William Hogarth is one of the most famous British artists of all time. He was a master not only of realist—and often bawdy—paintings but also of engravings, typically of a moral and satirical character. Widely reproduced and distributed, his work, with its influential “Hogarthian” style, was key to the evolution of pictorial satire and editorial cartooning.

Hudson River School

A nationalistic and Romantic school of landscape painting that arose informally in the mid-nineteenth century when increasing industry threatened to change the natural environment of the United States. The majority of Hudson River School painters were based in New York, often depicting the Catskill and Adirondack mountains. These painters embedded a sense of drama, the sublime, and the monumental into their portrayals of nature, transforming landscape into a symbol of the intangible sense of God’s creation. Thomas Cole and Asher Brown Durand were among the school’s leading members.

Impressionism

A highly influential art movement that originated in France in the 1860s, Impressionism is associated with the emergence of modern urban European society. Claude Monet, Pierre-Auguste Renoir, and other Impressionists rejected the subjects and formal rigours of academic art in favour of scenes of nature and daily life and the careful rendering of atmospheric effects. They often painted outdoors.

Inglis, James (Scottish/American/Canadian, 1835–1904)

James Inglis immigrated to Canada with his family in 1856, and in 1865, he opened what soon became a very successful photography studio in Montreal. He later relocated to the US, where he died in a freak flash powder explosion in 1904. Many of his Montreal studio’s 1860s to 1880s albumen prints are in the collection of the McCord Stewart Museum.

Jackson, A.Y. (Canadian, 1882–1974)

A founding member of the Group of Seven and an important voice in the formation of a distinctively Canadian artistic tradition. A Montreal native, A.Y. Jackson studied painting in Paris before moving to Toronto in 1913; his northern landscapes are characterized by the bold brushstrokes and vivid colours of his Impressionist and Post-Impressionist influences.

Jacobi, Otto (German/Canadian, 1812–1901)

Primarily a landscape painter, Jacobi immigrated to Canada from Germany in 1860. He was associated with the Düsseldorf school of landscape painting, with its emphasis on visually detailed scenes, often with narrative content. Upon settling in Montreal, he dedicated himself to the portrayal of Canada’s



topography; his early Canadian work occasionally used photographs by William Notman as source material. He served as president of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts from 1890 to 1893.

Kane, Paul (Irish/Canadian, 1810–1871)

Influenced by American artist George Catlin, this nineteenth-century painter and explorer spent extensive time documenting Indigenous Peoples in North America and depicting, in a traditional European style, scenes of their culture and landscapes. The Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto houses one hundred paintings and several hundred sketches by Kane. (See *Paul Kane: Life & Work* by Arlene Gehmacher.)

Krieghoff, Cornelius (Dutch/Canadian, 1815–1872)

A painter who immigrated to the United States from Europe in 1837 and then moved to Canada. Krieghoff was drawn to First Nations peoples and environments as subjects; he also painted landscapes and scenes of everyday Canadian life.

Laliberté, Alfred (Canadian, 1878–1953)

Born in Sainte-Élizabeth-de-Warwick, Quebec, Laliberté studied sculpture at the Council of Arts and Manufactures in Montreal and at the renowned École des beaux-arts in Paris. During his time in France, Laliberté discovered the work of Auguste Rodin (1840–1917), who became a significant influence on his sculptures. Best known for his monumental works and his statuettes and portrait busts depicting traditional Quebec culture, Laliberté was a member of both the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts and France's prestigious Académie des beaux-arts. He taught at the École des beaux-arts de Montréal (now part of the Université du Québec à Montréal) for thirty years.

landscape painting

The representation of natural scenery, including rivers, mountains, forests, and fields, landscape painting emerged as a genre in Chinese art in the fourth century. In Europe, landscapes began as background elements in portraits or other figurative paintings, becoming subjects in their own right around the sixteenth century.

Leonardo da Vinci (Italian, 1452–1519)

The patriarch of the Italian High Renaissance and the creator of the *Mona Lisa*, 1503. Leonardo da Vinci's paintings, sculptures, and architectural and decorative designs altered ideas of what Western art could be, and his writings influenced the concepts of ideal artistic representation and expression through the modern era.

life models

Individuals who hold poses, typically in the nude, for a group of artists or, in a pedagogical setting, art students so they can draw or paint the human figure directly from life.

Livernois, Jules-Ernest (Canadian, 1851–1933)

A photographer, entrepreneur, and member of the renowned Livernois family who ran a successful photography studio in Quebec City for over a century.

Jules-Ernest Livernois's work encompassed a wide range of subjects, including portraits, landscapes, and architecture, showcasing his versatility as a photographer and providing valuable historical records of life in Quebec City. The photographer is also renowned for his artistic vision and modernist compositions.

Martin, Thomas Mower (British/Canadian, 1838–1934)

Martin was principally a landscape painter. He immigrated to Canada from England in 1862. He soon established himself as a professional artist in Toronto, becoming a founding member of both the Ontario Society of Artists and the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts. He produced landscapes in eastern Canada as well as in the United States, but is perhaps best known for the mountain landscapes he painted and exhibited after the Canadian Pacific Railway gave him and other artists free passes to travel west.

McCord Stewart Museum

A Montreal museum of local and national history, opened in 1921. Included in the McCord Stewart's diverse collection is the Notman Photographic Archives: approximately 1.3 million photographs by William Notman, his studio employees, and other photographers from the 1840s to the present, as well as photographic equipment and related material.

Millet, Jean-François (French, 1814–1875)

Born into a peasant family, Millet was one of the founders of the Barbizon School, a group known for painting *en plein air* and favouring landscapes as subject matter. He is predominantly recognized for empathetic depictions of rural labourers and peasants created just as the Industrial Revolution was causing mass migrations from the countryside to urban centres such as Paris. Millet was awarded the Legion of Honour in 1868 and was an inspiration for Vincent van Gogh.

Monet, Claude (French, 1840–1926)

A founder of the Impressionist movement in France, Claude Monet created landscapes and seascapes that are among the canonical works of Western art. Introduced to *plein air* painting as a teenager, Monet returned to it throughout his life as a means of exploring the atmospheric effects and perceptual phenomena that so interested him as an artist.

National Gallery of Canada

Established in 1880, the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa holds the most extensive collection of Canadian art in the country, as well as works by prominent international artists. Spearheaded by the Marquis of Lorne (Canada's governor general from 1878 to 1883), the gallery was created to strengthen a specifically Canadian brand of artistic culture and identity and to build a national collection of art that would match the level of other British Empire institutions. Since 1988, the gallery has been located on Sussex Drive in a building designed by Moshe Safdie.

Notman, William (Scottish/Canadian, 1826–1891)

After immigrating to Canada in 1856, Notman soon became Montreal's most prominent photographer. He specialized in portraits and developed innovative



techniques to portray many people in a single photograph (known as a composite photograph) and to recreate outdoor scenes inside the studio. Thanks to his exceptional technical and promotional skills, he was the first Canadian photographer to build an international reputation. (See *William Notman: Life & Work* by Sarah Parsons.)

O'Brien, Lucius Richard (Canadian, 1832–1899)

A prominent oil and watercolour painter of Canadian landscapes, vice-president of the Ontario Society of Artists (1874–80), and the founding president of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts (1880–90). He travelled extensively in Canada, reaching as far as the West Coast. For the serial publication *Picturesque Canada* (1882–84), he supervised the commissioning of illustrations and himself produced the vast majority of images upon which the engraved illustrations were based.

Ontario Society of Artists

Canada's oldest extant professional artists' association, the Ontario Society of Artists (OSA) was formed in 1872 by seven artists from various disciplines. Its first annual exhibition was held in 1873. The OSA eventually played an important role in the founding of OCAD University and the Art Gallery of Ontario in Toronto.

portrait

An artistic genre capturing a person's likeness. Portraits reveal the subject's social status, personality, and cultural context through carefully chosen elements like clothing, accessories, and pose, creating both a record and an interpretation of the individual.

Raphael (Italian, 1483–1520)

Born Raffaello Santi in Urbino, Raphael became an important figure in the Italian Renaissance. As a painter in Florence, he was known for a series of Madonna paintings. After moving to Rome to join the court of Pope Julius II, he gained renown as a portraitist and history painter, eventually becoming the pope's architect in 1514. Major works include *The School of Athens*, 1509–1511, and *La Fornarina*, 1520.

realism/Realism

A style of art in which subjects are depicted as factually as possible. The art style "realism" is not to be confused with "Realism," a nineteenth-century art movement, led by Gustave Courbet, concerned with the representation of daily modern life rather than mythological, religious, or historical subjects.

Renaissance

The term used since the nineteenth century to refer to the Western art historical period from approximately 1400 to 1600. The Renaissance is associated with the return to classical style in art and architecture, following the medieval period.

Reni, Guido (Italian, 1575–1642)

Recognized as one of the most important Italian painters of the seventeenth century, Guido Reni painted religious and mythological subjects. He was

influenced by the work of Caravaggio and Raphael. At the height of his career, his colour work became more and more vivid and his brushwork lighter. Recognized for his use of tenebrism (contrast of light and dark), his work is notably Baroque, yet contains hints of classical composition.

Romantic tradition

A multi-faceted movement that affected most areas of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Western culture, including art, literature, and philosophy. Romanticism privileged the emotional and the subjective; it arose in opposition to Enlightenment-era rationalism.

Royal Canadian Academy of Arts

An organization of professional artists and architects modelled after national academies long present in Europe, such as the Royal Academy of Arts in the U.K. (founded in 1768) and the Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture in Paris (founded in 1648).

Rubens, Peter Paul (Flemish, 1577–1640)

The Baroque painter Peter Paul Rubens was known for his religious and mythological compositions. Influenced in his early career by the painters of the Venetian Renaissance, Rubens's style evolved to typify the sensuousness and movement of Baroque painting, with a looser painting technique evident in his later works. He supervised a large studio to produce his work and served as an important diplomat for the Netherlands in Europe.

Sandham, Henry (Canadian, 1842–1910)

A landscape painter, photographer, and draftsman who apprenticed with William Notman in Montreal and later lived in Boston and London, U.K., where he enjoyed a successful career as an illustrator. Sandham's *Montreal Snow Shoe Club*, a composite photograph completed with Notman, won a silver medal at the world's fair in Paris in 1878.

self-portrait

A form of portraiture in which the artist is the subject of their own work. Self-portraits offer intimate glimpses into the artist's identity, beliefs, and creative process, serving as both an artwork and a method of self-examination.

sketch

A rough drawing or painting, often made to assist in the creation of a more finished picture.

Smeaton, Charles (Canadian, 1838–1868)

Charles Smeaton was a Quebec City-born painter and photographer of Scottish origin. In 1861, he opened Smeaton's Photographic Gallery, offering photographic services as well as oil and watercolour portraits. He later travelled to Rome to photograph the catacombs with archaeologist John Henry Parker and died there soon after.

Society of Canadian Artists

Established in Montreal in 1867, this society lasted only until 1873. Significant figures lending their support or participation included Cornelius Krieghoff; John

A. Fraser, a partner in William Notman's photographic business; the portraitist John Bell-Smith; and Allan Edson, a landscape painter from the Eastern Townships. The society's last exhibition was in 1872.

still life

The still life is an important genre in Western art and includes depictions of both natural and manufactured objects. Often used to emphasize the ephemerality of human life in the *vanitas* and *memento mori* paintings of the seventeenth century, the still life was at the bottom of the hierarchy of styles established by the French Academy.

Suzor-Coté, Marc-Aurèle de Foy (Canadian, 1869–1937)

A remarkably versatile artist, Marc-Aurèle de Foy Suzor-Coté was a successful sculptor, painter, illustrator, and church decorator. In 1890 he left rural Quebec to study art in Paris and remained there for eighteen years, painting rural landscapes in an Impressionist style.

Taber, Abner Bedee (Canadian, 1832–1866)

Born in Farnham, Quebec, Abner Bedee Taber (sometimes credited as A.B. Taber) was a photographer active in mid-nineteenth-century Montreal, alongside William Notman. Some of his albumen studio portrait prints from the 1860s are in the collection of the McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal.

Titian (Italian, c.1488–1576)

Tiziano Vecellio, known as Titian in English, was one of the greatest painters of the Venetian Renaissance. His formal innovations in brushwork and colour signalled the rise of a new aesthetic in Western art. Patronized by royalty, Titian enjoyed a formidable reputation throughout much of Europe. His work influenced later painters, including Diego Velázquez and Peter Paul Rubens.

Turner, J.M.W. (British, 1775–1851)

Widely considered the foremost British landscape painter of the nineteenth century, Turner imbued his paintings with an expressive romanticism. His subject matter ranged from local landscapes to otherworldly natural events. He has been heralded as a precursor to both Impressionism and modernist abstract art.

van Dyck, Anthony (Flemish, 1599–1641)

Anthony van Dyck was born in Antwerp and started making art at a young age. He went on to become one of the most important seventeenth-century Flemish painters and was influenced by Peter Paul Rubens and Italian artists including Titian. He painted for the English court and created portraits and religious and mythological pictures in both Antwerp and Italy.

Vogt, Adolphe (German/Canadian, 1842–1871)

Born in Bad Liebenstein, Adolphe Vogt was a painter who lived and worked in Canada and the United States. He was known for his landscapes, genre scenes, and animal subjects, with works like *The Chestnut Stallion*, c.1865. He also co-founded the Society of Canadian Artists in Montreal in 1867.



Watson, Homer (Canadian, 1855–1936)

A landscape painter, Homer Watson was famous for his depictions of southern Ontario. He was born in Doon, in Waterloo County, and spent most of his life there, where he not only painted views of the countryside but also took an interest in protecting the local environment. The first president of the Canadian Art Club, he was a widely respected leader in Canadian art at the turn of the century. (See *Homer Watson: Life & Work* by Brian Foss.)

Wolff, Johann Eduard (German, 1786–1868)

Johann Eduard Wolff was a history painter and portraitist. Born in Königsberg and initially trained in Berlin, he worked in the studios of Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825) and Antoine-Jean Gros (1771–1835) in Paris before returning to Berlin and joining the Prussian Academy of Arts. He showed his works in academic exhibitions throughout the first half of the nineteenth century.

woodcut

A relief method of printing that involves carving a design into a block of wood, which is then inked and printed, using either a press or simple hand pressure. This technique was invented in China and spread to the West in the thirteenth century.



SOURCES & RESOURCES

William Raphael's work, unlike that of contemporaries such as Cornelius Krieghoff, Napoléon Bourassa, and William Brymner, is not widely known. Beyond this book, only one in-depth study has been done to better define the artist and situate him historically—Sharon Goelman's master's thesis, submitted in 1978. Prior to its digitization, Goelman's thesis was restricted to the shelves of the Concordia University library. Although Goleman has since published two more texts on Raphael, his life, work, and legacy remain insufficiently studied within the discipline of Canadian art. The resources below are breadcrumbs to guide future scholars.



LEFT: William Raphael, *Portrait of Two Children*, n.d., oil on canvas, private collection. RIGHT: William Raphael, *Sketchbook No. 3*, 1853-76, sketchbook containing 47 drawings in graphite, pen, and brown ink on 36 leaves of wove paper, bound in brown imitation-leather covers, 17.3 x 11.5 cm (cover), National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

KEY EXHIBITIONS

The artist's environment and his professional associations and relationships are reflected by the exhibitions in which he participated during his lifetime. Interest in William Raphael's work waned in the final years of his life. After his death, his works were largely relegated to the background of Canadian art history, except for a few essential paintings. The first posthumous retrospective devoted to the artist was organized in 1996 at the Walter Klinkhoff Gallery in Montreal.

1859	September: Exhibition of <i>The Old Pedlar</i> at Dawson & Sons, Montreal.
1860	August: Presentation of an illuminated transparency in Jacques Cartier Square, Montreal.
1864	February 11 to 13: <i>Conversazione</i> and second loan exhibition, Art Association of Montreal.
1865	February 27: <i>Conversazione</i> and third loan exhibition, Art Association of Montreal. September to October: Provincial Exhibition, Montreal.



1867	February 5 to 16: Fourth loan exhibition, Art Association of Montreal.
1868	December 23: First exhibition of the Society of Canadian Artists, Montreal.
1869	March: Exhibition of <i>Early Bird Picks Up the Worm</i> at Dawson & Sons, Montreal. July: Exhibition of a Loch Achray landscape at Dawson & Sons, Montreal.
1870	February 8 to 12: Second exhibition of the Society of Canadian Artists, Montreal. March 8 to 19: Sixth loan exhibition, Art Association of Montreal.
1879	May 26 to September 26: Ninth loan exhibition, Art Association of Montreal. Exhibition, Ontario Society of Artists, Toronto.
1880	First annual exhibition, Canadian Academy of Arts (later the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts), Ottawa, Montreal, and Toronto. First annual spring exhibition, Art Association of Montreal.
1881	April 11 to 23: Second annual spring exhibition, Art Association of Montreal. July 5: Second annual exhibition, Canadian Academy of Art (later the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts), Halifax.
1882	April 11 to May 3: Third annual exhibition, Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, Montreal.
1883	April 12 to 28: Fourth annual spring exhibition, Art Association of Montreal. May 23: Fourth annual exhibition, Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, Toronto.
1884	April 15 to May 4: Fifth annual exhibition, Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, Montreal.
1885	April 13 to May 2: Sixth annual spring exhibition, Art Association of Montreal. June: Exhibition of works by William Raphael's students at his studio, Montreal.
1886	February 2: Seventh annual exhibition, Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, Ottawa. May 4 to October 15: Colonial and Indian Exhibition, London.
1887	April 20: Eighth annual exhibition, Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, Montreal.



June: Exhibition of works by William Raphael's students at his studio, Montreal.

1888 April 3 to 21: Ninth annual spring exhibition, Art Association of Montreal.

1889 March 13: Tenth annual exhibition, Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, Ottawa.

April 12 to May 4: Tenth annual spring exhibition, Art Association of Montreal.

June: Exhibition of works by William Raphael's students at his studio, Montreal.

1890 April 24: Eleventh annual exhibition, Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, Montreal.

May: Exhibition of a portrait at the store of framer W. H. Hope, Montreal.

1891 March 6: Twelfth annual exhibition, Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, Toronto.

April 20 to May 9: Twelfth annual spring exhibition, Art Association of Montreal.

1892 March 30: Thirteenth annual exhibition, Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, Ottawa.

April 18 to May 14: Thirteenth annual spring exhibition, Art Association of Montreal.

1893 March 1: Fourteenth annual exhibition, Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, Montreal.

1895 March 6 to 30: Sixteenth annual spring exhibition, Art Association of Montreal.

April 15: Sixteenth annual exhibition, Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, Toronto.

November: Exhibition in the artist's studio, Montreal.

1896 March 12: Seventeenth annual exhibition, Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, Montreal.

1898 March 3: Nineteenth annual exhibition, Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, Toronto.

1900 March 16 to April 7: Nineteenth annual spring exhibition, Art Association of Montreal.

1901 March 8 to 23: Twentieth annual spring exhibition, Art Association of Montreal.

POSTHUMOUS EXHIBITIONS



1996 September 7 to 21: *William Raphael Retrospective*, Galerie Walter Klinkhoff, Montreal.

JOURNALS REVIEWING RAPHAEL'S WORK

The Art Journal (London)
Canadian Illustrated News
Daily Witness
Evening Star
Evening Telegraph and Daily Commercial Advertiser
The Gazette (Montreal)
Hamilton Spectator
Le Journal de Québec
La Minerve
Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette
Montreal Star
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The New York Times
The Order
Ottawa Daily Citizen
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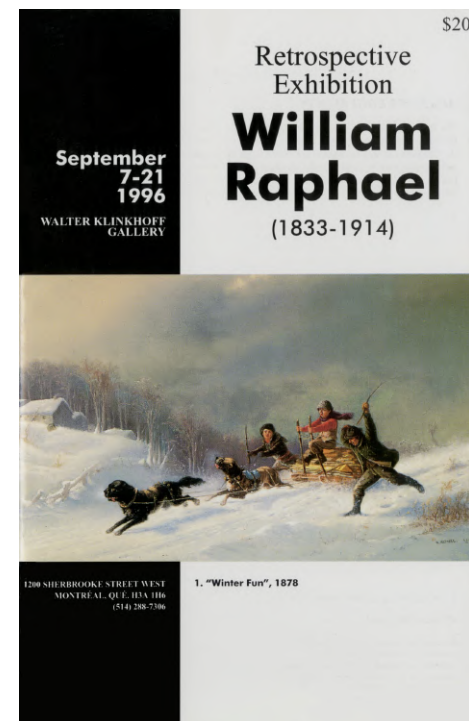
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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Pierre-Olivier Ouellet is an art historian and professor at Cégep du Vieux Montréal. He holds a PhD from Rennes 2 University in France, where he studied the art collections of laypeople under the French regime. He is interested in various aspects of artistic production in Canada before 1900, such as the representation of Indigenous peoples, artistic works related to missionary activities, the history of materials and techniques, art after the Conquest, and art historiography. The author of several scholarly essays, he has published in Quebec and Europe, notably in exhibition catalogues and books, including *François-Marc Gagnon et l'art au Québec: Hommage et parcours* (Montreal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2021), *L'homme des bois, l'homme vert: L'imaginaire de l'homme sylvestre dans la littérature et les arts* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2019), *Trading Paintings and Painters' Materials 1550–1800* (London: Archetype Publications, 2019), *Le fabuleux destin des tableaux des abbés Desjardins: Peintures des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles des musées et églises du Québec* (Ghent: Snoeck, 2017), and *Québec: Une ville et ses artistes* (Quebec: Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec, 2008). Ouellet's articles have also appeared in several academic journals, including *Legatio: The Journal for Renaissance and Early Modern Diplomatic Studies* (vol. 4, 2020), *IKON: Journal of Iconographic Studies* (vol. 12, 2019), *Bulletin d'histoire politique* (vol. 26, no. 1, 2017), and the *Revue de Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec* (no. 3, 2011). Very active in teaching and research, he is currently exploring the work of artist and architect François Baillairgé (1759–1830), studying the iconic painting *La France apportant la foi aux Wendat de la Nouvelle-France* (c.1666), and investigating the writings of art historian Gérard Morisset (1898–1970), all while continuing to explore lesser-known or less-appreciated works of art in Quebec and Canadian history.



“William Raphael’s arrival in Montreal in 1857 provides insight into the conditions that influenced the integration of Jewish artists into a cultural milieu that was still in the making. It is no small feat that Raphael was able to contribute so profoundly to Quebec’s visual folklore, while also receiving praise for his depictions of rural life and modern urban reality.”



WILLIAM RAPHAEL

Life & Work by Pierre-Olivier Ouellet



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Finally, we acknowledge the generosity of all those who support the Art Canada Institute and make our work possible.

From the Author

A fraction of William Raphael's paintings are now preserved in a few museums dedicated to art history. Other works, still too few, can be found in various public collections. Thus, attempting a somewhat exhaustive study of the work of the neo-Canadian painter would have been impossible based on these resources alone.

Fortunately, a more complete picture of the artist's output has been pieced together thanks to the efforts of his great-great-grandson, Jonathan Wener. Although not a painter like his ancestor, Wener contributed to Montreal's urban landscape by founding Canderel in 1975, a company dedicated to the construction, acquisition, and management of buildings. The entrepreneur, who also has a keen artistic passion, has spent years buying, restoring, and preserving his great-great-grandfather's works. This commitment has led to the creation of an impressive reference collection on the artist, which demonstrates both the collector's sensitivity and his great concern for preserving a heritage that is both family and community-based. I am particularly grateful to him for supporting this book project by giving me unlimited access to his collection, stimulating research, and ensuring that the life and art of William Raphael take on a new lease on life, now accessible to all through this publication by the Canadian Art Institute.

I am indebted to many people for their assistance in preparing this book. The invitation to explore the work and life of William Raphael came from Annie Gérin, dean of the Faculty of Fine Arts at Concordia University. I sincerely thank her for her trust and for introducing me to the team at the Art Canada Institute and its executive director and founder, Sara Angel. With her support and the collaboration of many professionals at ACI, including Emma Doubt, Victoria Nolte, Tara Ng, Annie Champagne, and Philip Dombowsky, this project has become a reality. To all of them, I offer my deepest gratitude.

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Galego, Julie Alary Lavallée, and Renée Filbey (Musée d'art de Joliette); Jacques Des Rochers and Danielle Blanchette (Montreal Museum of Fine Arts); Daniel Drouin (Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec); Asta McCann (RiverBrink Art Museum); Carol Baum (Royal Ontario Museum); Sonya Jones (Robert McLaughlin Gallery); Shannon Bingeman (Tom Thomson Art Gallery); Sydney Murchison (Winnipeg Art Gallery); Stephenson Strobel, Sharon Goelman, and Mario Béland. I am deeply grateful to them for granting me access to both the artworks and useful information for this book.

IMAGE SOURCES

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William Raphael, *Bonsecours Market, Montreal*, 1880. (See below for details.)

Credits for Banner Images



Biography: William Raphael, painter, c.1890. (See below for details.)



Key Works: William Raphael, *Behind Bonsecours Market, Montreal*, 1866. (See below for details.)



Significance & Critical Issues: William Raphael, *Fireside Chat in the Clearing*, 1867. (See below for details.)



Style & Technique: William Raphael, *Untitled (Lake Memphremagog)*, 1869. (See below for details.)



Sources & Resources: William Raphael, *Bonsecours Market*, 1864. (See below for details.)



Where to See: William Raphael, *The Boating Party*, 1876. (See below for details.)



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An Amateur, 1886. Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. Courtesy of Jonathan Wener.



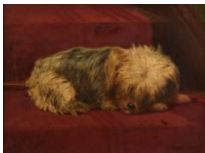
Anatomy Study of Arm Muscles, 1853-56. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, purchased 1974 (18089.31). Courtesy of the National Gallery of Canada. Photo credit: NGC.



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Arrocher, 1865. Collection of the McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal, gift of Dr. William D. Lighthall (M933.28.1.6). Courtesy of the McCord Stewart Museum.



The Artist's Dog Niny, c.1895. Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. Courtesy of Jonathan Wener.



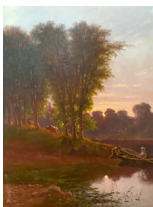
The Artist's House in Victoria St., 1908. Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. Courtesy of Jonathan Wener.



Awaiting Mother's Return on a Snowy Day, 1891. Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. Courtesy of Jonathan Wener.



Behind Bonsecours Market, Montreal, 1866. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, purchased 1957 (6673). Courtesy of the National Gallery of Canada. Photo credit: NGC.



Boating at Dusk, 1878. Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. Courtesy of Jonathan Wener.



The Boating Party, 1876. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, purchased 1977 (18816). Courtesy of the National Gallery of Canada. Photo credit: NGC.



Bonsecours Market, 1864. Private collection. Courtesy of Cowley Abbott. Photo credit: Cowley Abbott.



Bonsecours Market, Montreal, 1880. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, purchased 2015 (46501). Courtesy of the National Gallery of Canada. Photo credit: NGC.



Boy and a Cart, 1860. Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. Courtesy of Jonathan Wener.



Cap-à-l'Aigle, August 3, 1878. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, purchased 1974 (18090.29v). Courtesy of the National Gallery of Canada. Photo credit: NGC.



Coachman Standing at Rest Smoking a Pipe, 1881. Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. Courtesy of Jonathan Wener.



Cowansville, July 16, 1885. Collection of the McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal, gift of Dr. William D. Lighthall (M933.27.1.35). Courtesy of the McCord Stewart Museum.



Dam on the St. Charles River, August 11, 1874. Collection of the Musée de Lachine, Montreal, gift of the Sisters of Sainte-Anne (2008.66.13). Courtesy of the Musée de Lachine.



Double Barn Building Reflecting in Water, 1874. Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. Courtesy of Jonathan Wener.



Encampment by the River, 1871. Private collection. Courtesy of Cowley Abbott. Photo credit: Cowley Abbott.



Fireside Chat in the Clearing, 1867. Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. Courtesy of Jonathan Wener.



Going to Town, 1862. Samuel E. Weir Collection, RiverBrink Art Museum, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario (982.88). Courtesy of the RiverBrink Art Museum.



Good News, 1875. Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. Courtesy of Jonathan Wener.



Habitant, c.1873-1910. Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. Courtesy of Jonathan Wener.



Habitant (or Preparing to Smoke), c.1872-1910. Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. Courtesy of Jonathan Wener.



Habitant Warming, 1872-1910. Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. Courtesy of Jonathan Wener.



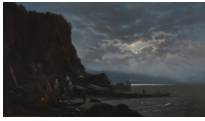
Habitants Attacked by Wolves, 1870. Collection of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, gift of the Misses Scott (1923.373). Courtesy of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. Photo credit: MMFA.



Hand on Guitar, January 31, 1854. Collection of the Musée de Lachine, Montreal, gift of the Sisters of Sainte-Anne (2008.62.1). Courtesy of the Musée de Lachine.



Haymarket Square / Victoria Square, 1861. Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. Courtesy of Jonathan Wener.



Indian Encampment on the Lower St. Lawrence, 1879. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Royal Canadian Academy of Arts diploma work, deposited by the artist, Montreal, 1880 (59). Courtesy of the National Gallery of Canada. Photo credit: NGC.



Landscape with Pond and Pink Bushes, August 25, 1885. Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. Courtesy of Jonathan Wener.



Longueuil Wharf, September 11, 1889. Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. Courtesy of Jonathan Wener.



Man and Two Women, August 25, 1851. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, purchased 1974 (18091.12). Courtesy of the National Gallery of Canada. Photo credit: NGC.



Man Playing Violin Under Lamppost, 1853-57. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, purchased 1974 (18088.11r). Courtesy of the National Gallery of Canada. Photo credit: NGC.



Man Seated, 1882. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, purchased 1974 (18092.23r). Courtesy of the National Gallery of Canada. Photo credit: NGC.



The McFarlane Children, 1871. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, gift of Hugh Hanson Davidson, Ottawa, 1987, in memory of C.H. McFarlane (29786). Courtesy of the National Gallery of Canada. Photo credit: NGC.



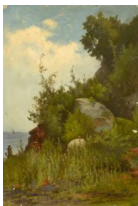
Moonlight, 1898. Unknown location.



Mr. Sarrasin, St. Gabriel de Brandon (holding pipe), 1872. Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. Courtesy of Jonathan Wener.



Murray Bay, July 30, 1878. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, purchased 1974 (18090.5r). Courtesy of the National Gallery of Canada. Photo credit: NGC.



Murray Bay Rock in Greenery, 1878. Collection of the Musée de Lachine, Montreal, gift of the Sisters of Sainte-Anne (2008.66.1). Courtesy of the Musée de Lachine.



The Old Pedlar, 1859. Collection of the Art Gallery of Nova Scotia, Halifax, acquired from Lawrence W.B. Morris, 1930 (1930.2). Courtesy of the Art Gallery of Nova Scotia. Photo credit: AGNS.



Pack of Wolves, c.1879. Collection of the McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal, gift of Dr. Theodore D. Lande (M2002.128.32). Courtesy of the McCord Stewart Museum.



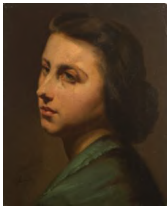
Pointe-au-Pic, Murray Bay—Approaching Storm, 1878. Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. Courtesy of Jonathan Wener.



Portrait of a Lady, 1884. Collection of the Winnipeg Art Gallery—Qaumajuq, gift of Mr. Peter Dobush (G-65-87). Courtesy of the Winnipeg Art Gallery—Qaumajuq.



Portrait of a Man, 1874. Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. Courtesy of Jonathan Wener.



Portrait of a Woman, June 8, 1855. Collection of the Musée de Lachine, Montreal, gift of the Sisters of Sainte-Anne (2008.63.5). Courtesy of the Musée de Lachine.



Portrait of an Orthodox Jew, 1861. Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. Courtesy of Jonathan Wener.



Portrait of an Orthodox Jew Smoking, 1861. Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. Courtesy of Jonathan Wener.



Portrait of Jeremiah Wright Wilson, 1878. Rare Books and Special Collections Library, University of Montreal, Louis Melzack Canadiana Collection (MZt05). Courtesy of the Galerie de l'Université de Montréal.



Portrait of Louis-Édouard Desjardins, 1877. Collection of Pointe-à-Callière, Montreal Archaeology and History Complex (2018.01.01). Courtesy of Pointe-à-Callière, Montreal Archaeology and History Complex.



Portrait of Two Children, n.d. Private collection. Courtesy of Alan Klinkhoff Gallery. Photo credit: Alan Klinkhoff Gallery.



Portrait of William McGillivray, 1908. Collection of the Château Ramezay, Montreal. Courtesy of the Château Ramezay.



Portrait of Wolf Rafalsky, c.1880. Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. Courtesy of Jonathan Wener.



The Rafalsky family home in Nakel, May 6, 1851. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, purchased 1974 (18091.10). Courtesy of the National Gallery of Canada. Photo credit: NGC.



The Rival Beggars, 1861. Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. Courtesy of Jonathan Wener.



Royal Mail, New Brunswick, 1861. Collection of the Beaverbrook Art Gallery, Fredericton, gift of Lord Beaverbrook (1959.176). Courtesy of the Beaverbrook Art Gallery.



Sawmill and Hydraulic Dam, 1889. Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. Courtesy of Jonathan Wener.



Self-Portrait, 1862. Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. Courtesy of Jonathan Wener.



Self-Portrait of the Artist, c.1885, Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. Courtesy of Jonathan Wener.



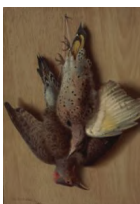
Sinking of the Schooner Industry, December 19, 1856. Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. Courtesy of Jonathan Wener.



A Sketch from Nature, 1882. Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. Courtesy of Jonathan Wener.



Tobogganing, Fletcher's Field, Montreal, 1875-78. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, purchased 1974 (18090.19). Courtesy of the National Gallery of Canada. Photo credit: NGC.



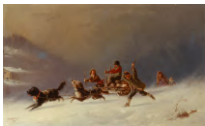
Still Life (Northern Flickers), 1885. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, gift of James G. MacLaren, Ottawa, 2012 (45760). Courtesy of the National Gallery of Canada. Photo credit: NGC.



Study of a Human Skull, 1851-56. Collection of Dr. Stevenson Strobel, Toronto. Courtesy of Dr. Stevenson Strobel. Photo credit: Toni Hafkenscheid.



Study of a sculpture of a flayed figure, 1854. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, purchased 1974 (18088.3v). Courtesy of the National Gallery of Canada. Photo credit: NGC.



Tandem, 1869. Collection of the Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec, Quebec City, purchase (1952.02). Courtesy of the Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec. Photo credit: MNBAQ, Patrick Altman.



Tandem, 1878. Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. Courtesy of Jonathan Wener.



Throwing the Bait, River St. Charles, Quebec, 1895. Private collection. Courtesy of Cowley Abbott. Photo credit: Cowley Abbott.



Two Women in Rowboat Near Shoreline, July 5, 1911. Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. Courtesy of Jonathan Wener.



Untitled (Lake Memphremagog), 1869. Collection of the Tom Thomson Art Gallery, Owen Sound, gift from an anonymous donor through the Ontario Heritage Trust, an agency of the Government of Ontario, 1988 (1988.011.060). Courtesy of the Tom Thomson Art Gallery.



Waiting for the Train, Dunn Station, Lachine, June 25, 1883. Collection of the McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal, gift of Dr. William D. Lighthall (M933.27.1.68). Courtesy of the McCord Stewart Museum.



With the Current, 1892. Collection of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, purchase, Horsley and Annie Townsend Bequest. Courtesy of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. Photo credit: MMFA.

Credits for Photographs and Works by Other Artists



Aboriginal Bark Huts and Basket Maker, Murray Bay, QC, c.1873, by Livernois Studio. Collection of the McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal, gift of David Watson (MP-1994.26.78). Courtesy of the McCord Stewart Museum.



Advertisement for "W. Raphael's Classes," *Montreal Star*, Tuesday, September 16, 1884, page 1.



Antique wooden ark in the sanctuary at the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, Montreal, 2018. Photograph by Dave Sidaway / *Montreal Gazette*.



Apollo Belvedere, Drawing Model, second half of the nineteenth century, by an unknown artist, after Leochares. Unknown location.



Arch at Foot of Jacques Cartier Square, for Albert Edward, Prince of Wales' Visit, Montreal, QC, 1860, by William Notman. Collection of the McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal, gift of Captain John P.T. Dawson (N-1984.107.140). Courtesy of the McCord Stewart Museum.



Art Association Building, Phillips' Square, Montreal, QC, c.1893, by Wm. Notman & Son. Collection of the McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal, purchase, funds graciously donated by *Maclean's* magazine, the Maxwell Cummings Family Foundation, and Empire-Universal Films Ltd. (VIEW-2543.1). Courtesy of the McCord Stewart Museum.



Art Association of Montreal sculpture room, by an unknown photographer. Collection of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts Archives. Courtesy of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts Archives.



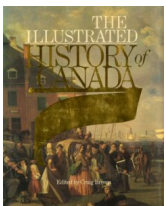
Baron de Hirsh School and Institute, Montreal, c.1903–6. Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, Montreal, Michel Bazinet Collection (15-40-d). Courtesy of Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec.



Beaver Hall Hill from Victoria Square, Montreal, QC, 1866, 1866, by William Notman Studio. Collection of the McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal, purchase, funds graciously donated by *Maclean's* magazine, the Maxwell Cummings Family Foundation and Empire-Universal Films Ltd. (I-20928.1). Courtesy of the McCord Stewart Museum.



The Cedar Match, from the Trads, Customs and Legends of Yesteryear series, 1927–31, by Alfred Laliberté. Collection of the Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec, Quebec City, purchase, restoration carried out by the Centre de conservation du Québec (1934.438). Courtesy of the Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec. Photo credit: MNBAQ, Patrick Altman.



Cover of *The Illustrated History of Canada*, edited by Craig Brown (Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1987).



Diploma Pictures—Presented to the New National Gallery, 1880, by unknown artist, in *Grip* 14, no. 18 (March 20, 1880). Courtesy of the National Gallery of Canada. Photo credit: NGC.



Dominion Square in the Snow, Montreal (Le Carré Dominion sous la neige, Montréal), 1912, by Maurice Cullen. Collection of the Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec, Quebec City, purchase, restoration carried out by the Centre de conservation du Québec (1941.33). Courtesy of the Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec. Photo credit: MNBAQ, Denis Legendre.



Dr. Roddick's Case of Occipital Meningocele, 1880, by John Henry Walker, after William Raphael. Collection of the McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal, gift of David Ross McCord (M930.50.2.161). Courtesy of the McCord Stewart Museum.



Dr. Roddick's Remarkable Case of Favus, Showing the Distribution of the Scabs and the Extent of the Eruption on the Body, 1880, by John Henry Walker, after William Raphael. Collection of the McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal, gift of David Ross McCord (M930.50.2.162). Courtesy of the McCord Stewart Museum.



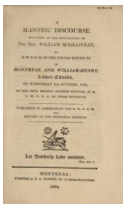
The Early Bird Picks Up the Worm, 1869, by Roberts & Reinhold, after William Raphael. Collection of Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Peter Winkworth Collection of Canadiana, 2002. Courtesy of Library and Archives Canada.



Father Moreau (Le Père Moreau), 1921, by Marc-Aurèle de Foy Suzor-Coté. Collection of the Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec, purchased in 1927 (1935.52). Courtesy of the Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec. Photo credit: MNBAQ.



Flayed (Écorché), c.1760, by Edmé Bouchardon. Collection of the École des Beaux-Arts, Paris.



Frontispiece of *A Masonic Discourse Delivered at the Installation of the Hon. William McGillivray* (Montreal: Thomas Andrew Turner, 1824). Collection of the McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal (M12278). Courtesy of the McCord Stewart Museum.



The Gavazzi Riot in Montreal, 1853, by James Duncan. Musée de la civilisation, collection of the Séminaire de Québec, Quebec City. Courtesy of the Musée de la civilisation.



Honoré Mercier, c.1880, by Jules-Ernest Livernois. Collection of Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, Montreal, Fonds J.E. Livernois Ltée, Mémoire du monde du Canada - CCUNESCO. Courtesy of Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec.



Hugh Andrew Montagu Allan, Montreal, Quebec, 1866-1867, 1866-67, by the William Notman Studio. Collection of the McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal, gift of Jean-Luc Allard and Lucie Surprenant (M2017.46.2.5139). Courtesy of the McCord Stewart Museum.



In the Orchard (Spring), 1892, by William Brymner. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, purchased 2002 with the Andrea and Charles Bronfman Canadian Art Fund (41077). Courtesy of the National Gallery of Canada. Photo credit: NGC.



Interior of English, German, and Polish Synagogue on McGill College Avenue, 1890, composite photograph by Rogers Arnott & Sauer. Collection of the Congregation Shaar Hashomayim Museum and Archives, Montreal. Courtesy of the Congregation Shaar Hashomayim Museum and Archives.



Jew's Synagogue, 1839, by James Duncan. Collection of the McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal, gift of Capt. P. Godenrath (M15949.7). Courtesy of the McCord Stewart Museum.



John Wilkes Esq., 1763, by William Hogarth. Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, gift of Sarah Lazarus, 1891 (91.1.8). Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Master Hugh Allan, Montreal, QC, 1867, 1867, by William Notman Studio and John Arthur Fraser (painter). Collection of the McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal, gift of Joan Elspeth Bourne (N-1981.16.1). Courtesy of the McCord Stewart Museum.



Merrymaking, 1860, by Cornelius Krieghoff. Collection of the Beaverbrook Art Gallery, Fredericton, gift of the Beaverbrook Canadian Foundation (1959.120). Courtesy of the Beaverbrook Art Gallery.



Miss Danziger, Montreal, QC, 1862, 1862, by William Notman. Collection of the McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal, purchase, funds graciously donated by *Maclean's* magazine, the Maxwell Cummings Family Foundation, and Empire-Universal Films Ltd. (I-2369.1). Courtesy of the McCord Stewart Museum.



Montmorency Falls, 1853, by Cornelius Krieghoff. Collection of the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, the Tom Thomson Collection at the Art Gallery of Ontario (AGOID.68801). Courtesy of the Art Gallery of Ontario. Photo © AGO.



Mrs. J.E. Smith's Children, Montreal, QC, 1869, by William Notman. Collection of the McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal, purchase, funds graciously donated by *Maclean's* magazine, the Maxwell Cummings Family Foundation, and Empire-Universal Films Ltd. (I-41358.1). Courtesy of the McCord Stewart Museum.



Niagara Falls, 1869, by Adolphe Vogt. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, purchased 1965 (14704). Courtesy of the National Gallery of Canada. Photo credit: NGC.



Noémie, Eugénie, Antoinette, and Séphora Hamel, Nieces of the Artist (Noémie, Eugénie, Antoinette et Séphora Hamel, nièces de l'artiste), 1854, by Théophile Hamel. Collection of the Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec, Quebec City, purchase, restoration carried out by the Centre de conservation du Québec (1976.370). Courtesy of the Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec.



Parade on the Opernplatz, Berlin, 1822, 1829, by Franz Krüger. Collection of the Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin, acquired in 1928 through a dispute with the former ruling Prussian royal house. Courtesy of the Alte Nationalgalerie.



The Pioneer Mill, 1880, by Homer Watson. Royal Collection Trust, Windsor, acquired by Queen Victoria as a gift from the Marquess of Lorne (RCIN 400548). Photo credit: Royal Collection Trust.



Portrait of Annie McFarlane, 1871, by James Inglis. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. Courtesy of the National Gallery of Canada. Photo credit: NGC.



Portrait of Jeanie McFarlane, 1871, by James Inglis. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. Courtesy of the National Gallery of Canada. Photo credit: NGC.



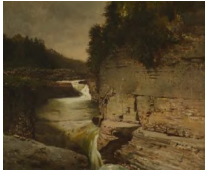
Portrait of William Raphael, c.1911, by Sister Marie-Hélène-de-la-Croix. Collection of the Musée de Lachine, gift of the Sisters of Sainte-Anne. Courtesy of the Musée de Lachine. Photo credit: Sisters of Sainte-Anne Historic Centre.



Prince Consort and Freemasons Group, 1877, 1877, by Notman & Sandham, after James Weston. Collection of the McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal (N-1978.109.22). Courtesy of the McCord Stewart Museum.



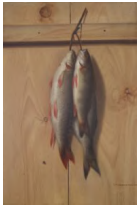
The Quebec Tandem Club, Champ De Mars, Montreal, c.1840, by James Duncan. Collection of Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, gift of Dr. Sigmund Samuel (953.186.1). Courtesy of Royal Ontario Museum.



The Rapids, Montmorency River (Les Rapides, rivière Montmorency), 1860, by Otto Reinhold Jacobi. Collection of the Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec, Quebec City, purchase (1936.34). Courtesy of Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec. Photo credit: MNBAQ, Jean-Guy Kérourac.



Right Foot, Drawing Model, second half of the nineteenth century, by an unknown artist. Unknown location.



Sea Trout (Truites saumonées), 1893, by Sister Marie-Hélène-de-la-Croix. Collection of the Musée de Lachine, gift of the Sisters of Sainte-Anne (2008.163). Courtesy of the Musée de Lachine. Photo credit: Sisters of Sainte-Anne Historic Centre.



Self-Portrait, 1910, by Robert Harris. Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, purchased 1913 (580). Courtesy of the National Gallery of Canada. Photo credit: NGC.



Series of medallion portraits, including that of William Raphael, as displayed in the center of the wall in the painting studio of the Sisters of Sainte-Anne, c.1945, photographer unknown.



Shaar Hashomayim Synagogue, 59 McGill College Avenue, Montreal, QC, about 1910-11, c.1910-11, by Wm. Notman & Son. Collection of the McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal, purchase, funds graciously donated by *Maclean's* magazine, the Maxwell Cummings Family Foundation, and Empire-Universal Films Ltd. (VIEW-10763). Courtesy of the McCord Stewart Museum.



Sir Robert Abercromby and W. Dudgeon, Montreal, QC, 1876, 1876, by Willian Notman Studio. Collection of the McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal, purchase, funds graciously donated by *Maclean's* magazine, the Maxwell Cummings Family Foundation, and Empire-Universal Films Ltd. (II-23851.1). Courtesy of the McCord Stewart Museum.



Sled Race across the Ice, 1861, by Cornelius Krieghoff. Collection of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Lady Allan Bequest (1958.1177). Courtesy of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. Photo: MMFA.



The Smoker (Le Fumeur), c.1855-60, by Cornelius Krieghoff. Collection of the Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec, Quebec City (1987.202). Courtesy of the Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec. Photo credit: MNBAQ.



"South Kensington Museum: The Sculpture Hall," in *The Queen's London: A Pictorial and Descriptive Record* (London: Cassell & Co., 1896), page 171.



St. Jean-Baptiste Parade Outside the Montreal Bank, 1872, 1932, by an unknown artist, after William Raphael. Collection of the McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal, gift of George Iles (MP-0000.30.11). Courtesy of the McCord Stewart Museum.



The Steam-ship "Borussia" (screw-propeller). Regular packet between Hamburg and New York, c.1857-72, published by Currier & Ives, New York. Collection of the Mariners' Museum and Park, Newport News, Virginia (1946.0287.000001). Courtesy of the Mariners' Museum and Park.



Study of the Head of an Iroquois Chief, Caughnawaga, 1881, by Georges-Édouard-Amable Desbarats, after William Raphael. McGill Libraries, Rare Books and Special Collections, Montreal. Courtesy of McGill Libraries, Rare Books and Special Collections.



Thomas Douglas Harington, 1850-85, by John Henry Walker. Collection of the McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal, gift of Margaret deVolpi (M982.591.24). Courtesy of the McCord Stewart Museum.



*W.B. Simpson, Montreal, QC, 1865, 1865, by William Notman. Collection of the McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal (I-17746.1), Purchase, funds graciously donated by *Maclean's* magazine, the Maxwell Cummings Family Foundation and Empire-Universal Films Ltd. (I-17705.1). Courtesy of the McCord Stewart Museum.*



William Brymner with his students at the Art Association of Montreal, 1902, by an unknown photographer. Jean-Marie Gauvreau Fonds, Centre de conservation, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, Montreal (MSS-002). Courtesy of the Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec, Quebec City.



*William Raphael, artist, Montreal, QC, 1862, 1862, by William Notman. Collection of the McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal, Purchase, funds graciously donated by *Maclean's* magazine, the Maxwell Cummings Family Foundation, and Empire-Universal Films Ltd (I-2362.1). Courtesy of the McCord Stewart Museum.*



William Raphael in his studio, Montreal, c.1905. Photographer unknown. Collection of Jonathan Wener, Montreal. Courtesy of Jonathan Wener.



William Raphael's painting palette, 1879-1914. Collection of the Musée de Lachine, gift of the Sisters of Sainte-Anne (2009.159.17). Courtesy of the Musée de Lachine. Photo credit: Sisters of Sainte-Anne Historic Centre.



William Raphael, painter, c.1890. Photographer unknown. Collection of the McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal, gift of David Ross McCord (MP-0000.2596). Courtesy of the McCord Stewart Museum.



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